THE CHIRALA-PERALA TRAGEDY

RAMDAS DUGGIRALA GOPALAKRISHNAYYA.

HERO OF CHIRALA-PERALA.

THE

Chirala-Perala Tragedy:

An Episode of Voluntary Exile

BY

G. V. KRISHNA RAO

" Sweet smiling village, loveliest of the lawn,
Thy sports are fled, and all thy charms withdrawn;
Amidst thy bowers the tyrant's hand is seen,
And desolation saddens all thy green."

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THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

(Without Permission)

TO

His Excellency The Right Hon'ble

SIR RUFUS DANIEL ISSACS,

Earl of Reading,

P.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O.,

Viceroy and Governor-General of India,

TO

His Excellency The Right Hon'ble

Sir Freeman Freeman Thomas

Baron Willingdon of Ratton,

G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.K.,

Governor of Madras,

AND TO

The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur

P. RAMARAYANINGAR, M.A.,

Minister for Local Self-Government,

Government of Madras,

Who have lent their hands in the sinful task of desolating two beautiful spots of God's Creation by their neglect.

M727665

"Earth is sick and Heaven is weary
Of the hollow words that States and Kingdoms
utter
When they talk of truth and justice."

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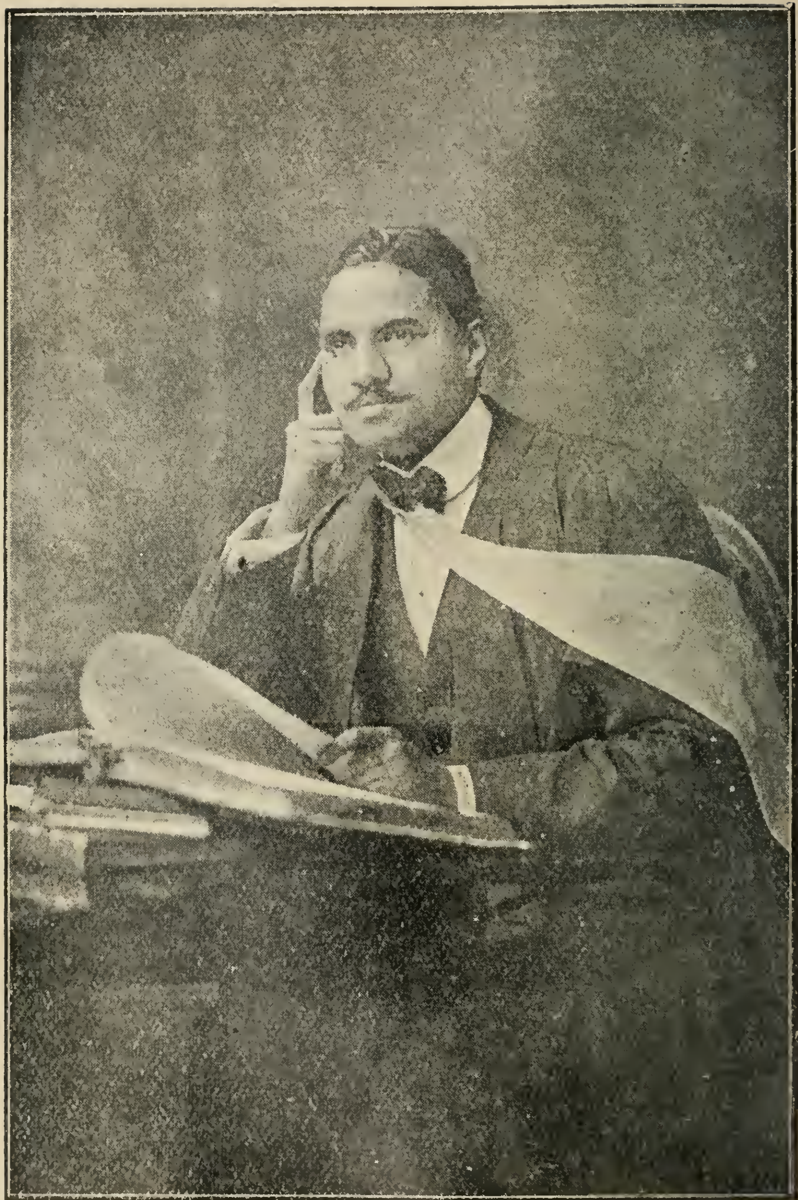
PROEM

I have tried to set out the facts about the Chirala-Perala Tragedy as clearly and dispassionately as I can. I have omitted much that I might have said. Throughout the book I have tried to understate difficulties rather than exaggerate them, for exaggeration defeats its own purpose. But I think if the reader will try to realise for himself the miserable state of affairs where a village can have no say even in simplest matters, where everything is under the eye of a Government official, where initiative is forbidden, where the ignorant people are severely repressed, he will certainly have some idea that unrest is not unreasonable, and surely feel the desertion or death of village units portend the destruction of Empires, or commonwealths or all civilizations.

MADRAS,
20th January, 1922. } G. V. KRISHNA RAO.

ERRATA.

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
9	23	old union again	old union.
24	9	into	to
26	19	in	on
27	5	Peruganchiprole	Penuganchiprole
27	12	the boy very much	the boy.
35	5	humour incarnate	Humour Incarnate
110	24	Study idioms	learn English
153	14	and according	and act according



DUGGIRALA GOPALAKRISHNAYYA, M.A.

THE
CHIRALA-PERALA TRAGEDY
AN EPISODE OF VOLUNTARY EXILE

CHAPTER I

UNDER THE UNION

Of all the errors committed by the Indian Government none is more gravely serious than their destruction of village organism throughout India. From times of yore village has been the unit of all free life and civilization. It has absorbed within itself diverse trades and occupations and religions and castes in one community. It has absorbed newcomers, acquired new blood, assimilated new ideas to add to the old and "leaven" them. The village is the basis of all civilization and "the *one* germ of corporate life that could be

encouraged into a larger growth." But it is an irony of fate to note that it has been killed by the British administrators in India.

The English official comes to India "new-fledged and eager for his work." Knowing nothing of India, he proceeds to overrule "the well-informed Indian opinion and seeks to impose English methods on an ancient land which has its own traditions." They then complain that Indians are ignorant, they are not fit for self-government and they should be ruled with an iron hand. "It is the way with the hybrids."

After the advent of the British rule in India, various enactments were framed to destroy the independent initiative power of villages and crush out the life and spirit of the people, "and to reduce them to the status of humble, tractable servants of the official hierarchy." Instead of becoming a school for local self-government, village administration seems "in danger of conversion into a branch of the bureaucracy." It is also a pity to note that a section of our countrymen become tools in the hands of an Alien Bureaucracy which transforms them by its jugglery into "statesmen." It is these "statesmen" who help the foreigner

to enslave people and advise the government to resort to severe repression if the nation asserts its self-consciousness. This is the ineffaceable impression one gets when he reviews the history of local self-government in India. To those who doubt the above truth, I cite the tragic episode of Chirala-Perala in the Andhradesh as an instance on the point, and let them mark, learn, and inwardly digest the bitter truth that the so-called reforms doled out now and then to a seemingly impotent nation by a benevolent *Ma Bap* Government, sap the little bit of initiative and independence a nation possesses and condemn it to the hell of slavery for ever.

A cluster of trees consisting of mango and cocoanut and other useful Indian trees, a group of dwellings some tiled and some thatched, a temple in the centre, a church and a rice mill, —signs of the invasion of modern Western Civilization—these surrounded on all sides by large barren fields—this is the village of Chirala (in the Guntur District, the Madras Presidency): and near and around it are four villages, Viraraghavapet, Jandrapet, Perala, and Old Chirala. With its surrounding four villages Chirala has formed as the basis of a Union

during the last forty years silently doing its God-appointed task. In fact the Chirala Union formed a little state in itself and though years have rolled away and changes have been vast and varied, still it maintained its unity and perfection and "resembled exactly his prototype of at least one thousand years ago."

Chirala possesses a Board Elementary School and an hospital both maintained by the Taluk Board of Bapatla. Educational facilities are also afforded in the form of twelve Results' Schools getting government grants. Not only these but a secondary school maintained by the village committee, a Government's girls' school, and Mission's boys' and girls' schools form the chief centres of education in these five villages.

The collections of the Union amount roughly to Rs. 5,000 a year, which money used to be spent on establishment, scavenging, and street-lighting.

These villages possess excellent and happy climate. Chirala is a summer resort to those who cannot afford to ascend to the Olympian heights of Ooty or the Elysian heights of Simla. As the soil of the villages is sandy and porous (the sea is three miles distant from the villages) there is no need on the part of a British official

to think of a permanent drainage scheme. The villages have gardens on their outskirts and Nature has provided them with scavengers (pigs) in large numbers; hence a British officer need not trouble himself of plans to maintain a grand scavenging department. Plenty of sweet water can be had in the villages and hence they do not require a water scheme from expert engineers of the modern day civilization.

The villagers are simple, happy, and work hard. In food and in dress as well as in many other things they are simple. They are contented and have no high ambitions. They work when there is work, and play when they have no work and enjoy life's pleasures most keenly. Dyeing and weaving form their chief occupations and they are able to raise sufficient food to sustain them for a year. Under the Union their life, in general, flowed on happily and smoothly on un-ruffled by anything uncommon, and "undisturbed by the many conflicting interests that are at work in the outside world." Truly one remembers the following words of the poet when he thinks of the simple and happy life of the villagers under the Union:

"It was a land of plenty and of wealth;
There God's indulgent hand made for a race

Supremely blest a paradise on earth,
A land of virtue, truth, and charity,
Where nature's choicest treasures man enjoyed
With little toil, where youth respected age,
Where each his neighbour's wife his sister deemed.

....

....

A land where each man deemed him highly blest
When he relieved the mis'ries of the poor;
When to his roof the wearied traveller came
To share his proffered bounty with good cheer."

CHAPTER II

ENFORCEMENT OF MUNICIPALITY

Carlyle says: "The ways of the world are more anarchical than ever.........we have got into the age of revolutions. All kinds of things are coming to be subjected to fire as it were; hotter and hotter the wind rises around everything." The above remark applies with equal force to the village constitutions in India. Introduction of the Ryotwari system (in the Madras Presidency), and the extreme centralization of judicial and executive powers in the hands of its (British Bureaucracy) own officials have completed the task of destroying, root and branch, the old village constitutions: and as a result we find now hybrid councils and unions in their places. In spite of the cataclysmic changes, the villagers of the Chirala union were self-sufficient and happily living, when, the Government of Madras threw a bomb shell—

God knows the reason why—on the union and disturbed the placid contentment of the villagers.

In November, 1919, the Government of Madras issued a notification to the effect that Chirala and Perala should henceforth be formed as a municipality; and Jandrapet and Old Chirala should be separated from Chirala and Perala and constitute themselves as a union; and if there were any complaints to the contrary they might be notified to the Government by a certain date. This strange pronouncement astounded the villagers; and they, not only sent reasoned petitions, but also deputed some of their men to go to Madras and discuss the question with the Government. But all their attempts became futile. The Government, at last, declared the constitution of the municipality of Chirala-Perala in January, 1920.

Eleven councillors with a Revenue Divisional Officer as Chairman were nominated and they formed as a Municipal Council to carry on the administration of Chirala-Perala. Taxes were increased from Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 33,000. Many revision petitions were sent up to the Chairman complaining about the nature of the exorbitant taxation. But the Chairman advised the people

to pay taxes and then appeal against high and unjust taxation. The advice was accepted and for the first half-year taxes were paid and then the villagers appealed to the higher authorities of their grievances. But wastage of money on courts and posts was the result of their legitimate agitation.

At last goaded to despair the villagers resolved to boycott the municipality. The municipal councillors, feeling the righteous and just indignation of their countrymen against the municipality, resigned in a body. The District Collector having learnt of the serious step taken by the councillors visited the place, when, the villagers urged him to recommend the abolition of the municipality. Afterwards, when, Hon'ble Mr. Ramarayaningar, Minister of Local Self-Government, visited Chirala in February, 1921, the villagers sent a deputation to him praying to dissolve the municipality. The councillors unanimously demanded the Minister to yield to the wishes of the people and reinstate the old union again. The Minister never cared for the strong public opinion but threatened to appoint a paid chairman, to establish punitive police, to remove the Railway Station, Post Office, and hospital, and to station

the military if they do not agree to have a municipality. His threats having no effect on the villagers, the Minister, through the help of the village munsiff of Nidubrole, invited some non-Brahmins and tickling their caste prejudices and giving them hopes of nomination on the council tried his best to seduce them to his side; but glad to note he failed and failed miserably. After returning to Madras the Minister officially asked the newly-instituted Chirala Municipal Council why it should not be superseded and a paid chairman appointed in its place, to carry on its duties. The Municipal Council met (the American Missionary Mr. Thomas too attended) and in a well-reasoned statement resolved that the villagers could not bear heavy taxation, *the villagers did not require a municipality*, therefore the Minister should abide by the wishes of the people and instead of superseding it should reinstate the old union dissolving the Municipal Council. But as the master so the servant, the Minister being a Brown Bureaucrat, turned a deaf ear to the resolution of the municipality and, on 1st April, 1921, superseding it appointed a paid chairman on a fat salary of Rs. 390 a month.

CHAPTER III

EVACUATION OF VILLAGES

The first act of the tragedy is over and you will enter upon the second act where you will witness the subtle workings of a Bureaucracy driving out the villagers across the plains "with their hymns of lofty cheer."

Alleging that the people became riotous, burnt toll-gate and placed toll-bar across the rail-road stopping the Calcutta mail for some time, the Government stationed a batch of reserve police (100 or so in number) at Chirala and thus began their operations in the field, viz., threatening the villagers to submit to the municipality. The paid chairman, with the help of the reserve police, went to the defaulters' houses and in many cases attached their properties, which, though auctioned at different places many a time, nobody bought them. In consequence of these repressive acts the villagers apprehended danger to their person and property and con-

sulted their leaders what to do in those circumstances. At that time Mahatma Gandhi, on his way to Madras, visited Chirala and inquiring into the grievances of the villagers advised them either to adopt civil disobedience or *desatyag*, i.e., to evacuate the villages. To adopt civil disobedience means to refuse payment of taxes, to submit to the attachment of property, and if necessary to go to jails in large numbers. The leaders of the villagers apprehended that, if they adopt civil disobedience, they might at any moment lose their patience and come into conflict with the Bureaucracy which awaits with glee for an opportunity "to make them learn a lesson which they might not forget for another fifty years." Thereupon *Ramdas* Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya, the leader of Chirala-Perala advised the villagers to leave the municipal limits, to construct huts on the outskirts, and live in them till the fulfilment of their wishes. Accordingly, the villagers, 15,000 in all, gathering their properties, began to evacuate the villages. During those midsummer days, the people were prepared even to give up their young children to death on their way or in the huts, and the old men, taking their be-all on their heads, were prepared even to die or

swoon on their way rather than meekly submit to a wanton disregard of their popular rights and liberties by the Bureaucracy.

Afterwards the cases, regarding toll-shed-burning, toll-bar placed across railway lines, were duly heard before a tribunal. The evidence extracted before the tribunal clearly proved that the villagers were innocent and had nothing to do with those mischievous acts engineered by their enemies behind the scenes.

After the villagers left their native soil to live in huts constructed by themselves on the outskirts of the municipality, some engineered attempts were made to burn vacated houses and as a result we witness ten houses were burnt to ashes. Had there been a sudden blast of wind when the fire occurred, both the villages should have been burnt to ashes! But God frowned and non-co-operated with the malefactors.

Before the evacuation of the villages—

"As I past with careless steps and slow,
The mingling notes came softened from below;
The swain responsive as the milk-maid sung,
The sober herd that lowed to meet their young,
The noisy geese that gabbled o'er the pool,
The playful children just let loose from school,

The watch-dog's voice that bayed the whispering wind,
And the loud laugh that spoke the vacant mind;
These all in sweet confusion sought the shade,
And filled each pause the nightingale had made."

But now—

"the sounds of population fail,
No cheerful murmurs fluctuatè in the gale,
No busy steps the grass-grown foot-way tread,
For all the bloomy flush of life is fled."

Both the villages are in a dilapidated condition for the last six months. We find jackals taking their abode in the deserted houses. One feels terrified at the spectacle of seeing the snakes crawling here and there in the deserted villages. Green pasture has grown by the sideways in the villages and Nature "red in tooth and claw" reigns supreme. When I visited the villages after evacuation, I felt pained at the desolation of the two beautiful spots of God's creation and involuntarily remembering recited the words of the poet (with slight change)—

"Sweet Chiral!' parent of the blissful hour,
Thy glades forlorn confess the tyrant's power,
Here, as I take my solitary rounds
Amidst thy tangling walks and ruined grounds,

And, many a year elapsed, return to view
Where once the cottage stood, the hawthorn grew,
Remembrance wakes with all her busy train,
Swells at my breast, and turns the past to pain."

The villagers are determined not to re-enter the villages till the dissolution of the municipality. At first some people desired to return to the deserted villages but happily the incarceration of their beloved chief intervened and they too emphatically declared to me their intention of staying in the huts in the new colony till the municipality is abolished. As long as there is the municipality in existence.—

" Thither no more the peasant shall repair
To sweet oblivion of his daily care ;
No more the farmer's news, the barber's tale,
No more the woodman's ballad shall prevail ;
No more the smith his dusky brow shall clear,
Relax his ponderous strength, and lean to hear ;
The host himself no longer shall be found
Careful to see the mantling bliss go round;
Nor the coy maid....................................."

CHAPTER IV

PUBLICITY BUREAU ANSWERED

When the villagers were struggling in the white heat of a mid-summer season in the huts to maintain their ordinary human rights, the Government of Madras, enjoying on the Olympion heights of Ooty, coolly kept quiet without once reviewing its act of misbehaviour towards a vast population of 15,000 human souls, in the light of the altered circumstances of the case. On the other hand, a statement was issued by the Publicity Bureau, Madras,* defending the Government's action and attributing the whole trouble to the non-co-operators. The reasons—if reasons they are—forwarded on behalf of the Government by the Publicity Bureau are, to put it mildly, mischievous, if not meaningless.

The Publicity Bureau says because the Sanitary Commissioner recommended the constitution of the municipality on grounds of public health, therefore the Government acted on his

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* *Vide* Appendix I.

suggestion. This contention betrays woeful ignorance of the conditions of the villages on the part of a Sanitary Commissioner. Did he mean to say that the union was not taking an active interest in the work of sanitation? Did he compare the statistics of births, deaths and infectious diseases spread in the villages with those of other municipal towns and villages? Indeed, it is true that plague infected these villages in 1918. But this is directly attributable to the importation of it from big cities and towns, Bombay, Ahmedabad, Bezwada, and Guntur. Only 25 deaths occurred from plague in Chirala and its surrounding villages. Why not the Government convert the municipalities of Guntur and Bezwada into corporations for they have betrayed their inability of administering their areas when plague infected? For the matter of that Bapatla, Vetapalem unions, and the areas of some other non-unions too were infected with plague. Then why does not the Government turn them into municipalities so that money might be found "for the improvement of sanitation" of those infected areas? Why did the Government separate Jandrapet, a place infected with plague from Chirala municipality and awarded it a union? When every

body knows that to evacuate a place infected with plague is the best and wise thing for one to do, it is strange to hear the absurd statement that the plague-infected area should be converted into a municipality. Let the reader judge for himself the soundness of this argument forwarded by an apologetic Publicity Bureau on behalf of the Government of Madras!

I invite the reader's attention to read Appendix II, a statement made in reply to the Publicity Bureau by the Secretary, the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, in which the Secretary, in a well-reasoned and logical manner, refutes the contentions of the Bureau, argument by argument, and clearly proves the gross neglect paid by the Government in this matter, and how a "prestige-ridden" bureaucracy tries to override "the wishes of the people expressed emphatically and un-ambiguously."

Suppose (a moment please!) the arguments of the Bureau are right and a municipality should be established at Chirala. What are the benefits that the Chirala people accrue from a municipality? The benefits are—

(1) to bear the expenses of a school and hospital maintained by the Taluk Board in the past days, (2) to have a permanent vaccinator,

(3) to have a registrar of births and deaths (this work used to be done by the village munsiff under the union), (4) to have a sanitary inspector and building experts, (5) to have an Overseer with his establishment, (6) to have a manager, an accountant, a tax-clerk, a warrant officer, a typist, a shroff, etc. (The work of all these used to be done effectively by a clerk on a salary of Rs. 18 a month under the union). In short the expenses on all these items (excluding hospitals and school) approximately comes up to Rs. 14,500 a year. On the other hand the whole work was done by the union with Rs. 4,000 a year. Is it not a reckless wastage of money of the poor villagers under the municipality? This is the blessing the Government bestows on the villagers and for which they are maltreated without pity!

The Bureau contends why the Taluk Board should pay for the expenses of the hospital and other conveniences in Chirala. It should be stated that the hospital at Chirala is intended for the use of the whole district. The villages possess 30 or 35 good Ayurvedic physicians who treat the villagers of their petty diseases. Except in serious and complicated cases, none of the villagers had any necessity to go to the

Board's Hospital. An examination of the attendance register at the hospital reveals that people from outside the villages form a large majority of the cases attending the hospital.

When hospitals at various places in other unions are being maintained by Taluk Boards, is it a special rule laid down by the Government of Madras that Chirala should maintain its own hospital? Are not schools, as a rule, maintained by Taluk Boards in union and non-union areas? Thus we see this argument of the Bureau also is devoid of meaning.

The Bureau says also, as, in 1918, the Union Chairman advised constitution of a municipality and as the District Board supported the chairman's finding, hence the Government established a municipality. India is a land of mysteries. Local self-government is an anamoly in India. The people have no right in choosing their own officials in local administration but nomination is the order of the day. A nominated member on the Union, Council, or Assembly is a *Johukum wallah*, begs the Bureaucracy for favours, acts according to the wishes of the Bureaucracy and meekly submits to everything the Bureaucracy says or does. There may be exceptions to the rule here and there but on the whole, it is the

general rule which could not be contradicted by any one, nay, not even by the Bureau.

Probably the Bureau does not know that the people protested against the nomination of the said person as the Union Chairman when he was appointed to the post. The members of the union too were nominated by the Government. It is this union with its chairman, a man hated by the people, at its head recommended the constitution of a municipality! This is the form of Local self-government we are enjoying under the British Rule during the last half-a-century and more!

What wonder is there if the District Board accepts the proposal of the Union Chairman, who is after all a member of the same District Board! In 1915 the same District Board resolved that Chirala should not have a municipality. Then what unearthly things have occurred in the meanwhile for the District Board to change its opinion? Is it on account of plague infection? We have discussed about it before and shown the futility of that contention. Is it to please the Higher Authorities? Let the District Board answer! Jandrapet, one of the plague infected areas in 1918 was in the old union. Why should it be separated and made

a union ? Did the District Board recommend to do like that ? Or is it an inexplicable whim of the Presiding Deity of the "prestige-ridden" Bureaucracy of Madras ?

Even taking into consideration the number of houses in the Chirala Union, we do not find it reasonable to convert it into a municipality. The Old Chirala Union consists of 4,529 houses of all classes: Bapatla Union possesses 2,245 houses and Ponur Union 2,180 houses. The total number of houses in the Chirala Union may seem to be great in number but if we go into details we find the reverse of it. The number of first five classes of houses in Chirala-Perala excluding those of Jandrapet is 400, while Bapatla has 434, and Ponur 546. We see that the number of valuable houses in Chirala-Perala is meagre compared with the other two unions. When, on an examination, we find that 400 houses (of the five classes) constitute Chirala-Perala is it justifiable to force a municipality upon them ? Taking on an average 4 people to live in each house, and deducting 1,600 rich men from a total population of 18,000, we see that 16,400 poor souls live in Chirala-Perala. Did the Goverment think of this aspect of the question at all before establishing the municipality ? Did the Sanitary

Commissioner recommend to constitute a municipality taking into consideration the above incontestable statistical figures? Or did the Government get, as a matter of course, the usual assent of the District Board and the Union Chairman to convert the Union into a Municipality? Let us admit that the Government pays scrupulous and respectful regard to the recommendations of the District Board and Union Chairman and Sanitary Commissioner. On the express recommendation of the Sanitary Commissioner and District Board, the Repalli Union has been converted into a municipality. The Repalli people protested. The Government prohibited meetings under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. But the agitation continued and at last the Minister issued a notification that the Repalli Municipality would be abolished very soon! The Minister naively speaks out that Repalli has no urban interests and it is a rural area. And yet the Government seems to think of establishing a Munsiff's Court there! If the minister acted to the contrary in the question of Repalli Muncipality, *the constitution of which was recommended by the District Board and the Sanitary Commissioner,* then what obstacles are in his way to

rescind the orders in the case of Chirala-Perala? Oh! I forget. It is a matter of prestige? No sound reason can be given for enforcement of a municipality on Chirala-Perala but that the minister is not willing to yield to the just agitation of the people.

In this righteous struggle up till now eleven men and an old woman who refused to pay taxes went into jail for 20 days. The village *karnam*, Mr. Chirala Rangayya resigned his post and suffered a rigorous imprisonment of 3 months. Two more are at present in jail. We do not find a greater mockery of justice as we witness in some of the cases of Chirala people. Some of the people have been sentenced to imprisonment ranging from days to months, and they are told by the presiding officer to go home, stay there, and await their arrests. One of those men who received a sentence of imprisonment wrote to the presiding officer that he wanted to go to Benares on a visit and asked him when he would get the warrant of arrest so that after he served the term of imprisonment he might purge the sins of his stay in a British prison with a bath in the Ganges at Benares.

In August last the Minister proposed that the

villagers of Chirala-Perala, *retaining the name of municipality* may tax themselves, Rs. 4,000 only and do the work of the union as before. This "condescension" must be characterised as hypocrisy, pure and simple. How could the work of a municipality be carried on with the collections of a union? This kind of tactics is certainly unworthy on the part of a minister and it speaks of the mentality of those who, enjoying pelf and authority, worshipping the Deity of Prestige, override mercilessly the legitimate rights and wishes of their own countrymen.

The Bureau alleges that "after a careful examination of the situation he (the minister) came to the conclusion that the agitation for the abolition of the municipality was fictitious" and that "apparently under the influence of the non-co-operators and some of the rich merchants" the people agitated for the dissolution of the municipality. Whenever and whatever opposition comes to Government from any quarter, there the influence of some non-co-operator is attributed as a reason for it. This has become a matter of daily occurrence in India. You find the same thing at Malabar, at Contai and other places. We have grown sick

with this ever-repeated-but-contradicted charge against non-co-operators. We have repudiated it many a time and yet the Government blindly asserts the repudiated myth. Suppose the non-co-operator is at the bottom of it at Chirala-Perala. Why is not the Government sensible enough to win over the villagers to its side by the abolition of the municipality ? Why did the Government repress the villagers and has driven them into the fold of the non-co-operator ? The non-co-operator never said that he would boycott the municipality. It is expressly laid down that a non-co-operator should contest the seats of election on the municipalities and convert them into powerful organisations of non-co-operation. How could we believe that the non-co-operator is the mischief-maker in Chirala-Perala affair, when we witness the villagers waiting in a deputation on a minister ? For a non-co-operator should not seek help from the blood-stained hands of an alien bureaucracy. To say that non-co-operation is responsible for the Chirala-Perala tragedy is blasphemous.

CHAPTER V.

THE HERO OF CHIRALA–PERALA

The noble hero of Chirala-Perala, *Ramdas* Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya, was born at Peruganchiprole (Nandigama Taluk, Kistna District). His father was a teacher and poor young Gopalakrishna lost his mother on the third day of his birth. Then his father re-married but he too expired one-and-half years after the re-marriage. Young Gopalakrishna has been brought up from his childhood by his grand-mother who tenderly loves the boy very much. She became father and mother to him and Gopalakrishna in return for her deep affection tries his best to make her happy in her last days.

Educated by his uncle he studied till Matriculation Class in Town High School, Guntur. He failed in theMatriculation examination thrice owing to his waywardness and sportive company. Seeing this his uncle removed him to

Bapatla where, after a diligent study, he passed the Matriculation of the Madras University. Then he served as a clerk in the Taluk Office at Bapatla for a year, in which task he proved his incapacity to do the drudgery. He wrote a letter to his guardian in strong language that it would be wise to beg in streets than be a clerk in a Government Office where independence and the power of initiative would be destroyed by the spiritless and lifeless routine of the day. He requested his guardian to give him permission to resign and allow him to take up higher studies. Being a shrewd man, his guardian did not force him to be a clerk and assented to his proposal. Gopalakrishna resigned, joined in Intermediate Class in the College at Guntur but did not prosecute his studies till he completed his course. Giving up his studies he became a teacher in a mission's school and afterwards went to Scotland to study at the Edinburgh University. He received the M.A. diploma in History and Economics and tasting the pleasures and pains of Western life he returned to India after a stay of five years. On his arrival he was appointed as a Professor at the Training College, Rajahmundry, which he gave up owing to a hitch

with the principal. Then he joined the Andhra Jateeya Kalasala as a teacher and left it too after some time.

He had an idea of starting a paper "Sadhana" and for this purpose he bought a press and obtained a security-less declaration both for the paper and the press. As his wife was a sickly girl, he wanted to take her to a healthy resort where she could recoup her health and staying there permanently he might start the paper. He chose Chirala as the best place for him with healthy climatic conditions. On his arrival at Chirala with his family, everybody, except the doctor, was new to him. Slowly he acquainted himself with his neighours and became

" to all the country dear.
And passing rich with forty pounds a year;
Remote from towns he ran his godly race,
Nor e'er had changed, nor wished to change, his place;
Unpractised he to fawn, or seek for power,
By doctrines fashioned to the varying hour;
Far other aims his heart had learned to prize,
More skilled to raise the wretched than to rise;
His house was known to all the vagrant train;
He chid their wanderings, but relieved their pain;
The long-remember'd beggar was his guest,

Whose beard descending swept his aged breast;
The ruined spendthrift, now no longer proud,
Claimed kindred there, and had his claims allowed;

....

....

Pleased with his guests, the good man learned to glow,
And quite forgot their vices in their woe;
Careless their merits or their faults to scan,
His pity gave ere charity began.

....

....

And, as a bird each fond endearment tries
To tempt its new-fledged offspring to the skies,
He tried enchantment, reproved each dull delay,

Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way."

Everything went on quite happily when, the Madras Government suddenly declared to convert the Chirala Union into a Municipality. The villagers looked up to Gopalakrishna who became their friend, guide, and philosopher in their distress. He advised the people to petition to the Government, spoke personally with the Government officials, in fact, he did his best to do everything in his power both to help the people and the Government to be on good

terms. But the Government persisted and the municipality was established. He advised the people to boycott the municipality and be non-violent in their struggle. He impressed on their minds on all occasions the necessity of non-violence; and knowing pretty well the human nature he organised *Ramdandu* ("A Peaceful Army") whose duty is to do social service to their brethren and to maintain peace in the villages. Through this organisation he prevented the people losing their patience from the provoking pin-pricks of the Bureaucracy.

At meetings

"With meek and unaffected grace,
His looks adorned the venerable place;
Truth from his lips prevailed with double sway
And fools, who came to scoff, remained to pray.
The service past, around the pious man,
With steady zeal, each honest rustic ran;
E'en children followed with endearing wile,
And plucked his gown, to share the good mans' smile.
His ready smile permits warmth expressed;
Their welfare pleased him, and their cares distressed:
To them his heart, his love, his griefs were given,
But all his serious thoughts had rest in heaven."

When the fight with the Government took a serious turn and when it came to a question of application of civil disobedience or *Desatyag* he thought over the matter for a fortnight or more revolving in his mind the serious nature of the step he would have to take in the matter. He felt diffident about the patience of the people if their properties would be attached before their very eyes, and resolved to carry out *Desatyag*. He consulted the elders of the town and at last definitely declared for *Desatyag*. At his call, men, women, and children gathering their properties, some carrying on their heads, some on carriages, quitted the villages, as though plague infected the villages, to live in huts outside the outskirts of the municipality. It is a sight for Gods to see those unhappy people leaving their sweet homes to worship freely at the pure shrine of self-determination.

> "Good Heaven! What sorrows gloomed that parting day,
> That called them from their native walks away:
> When the poor exiles; every pleasure past,
> Hung round the bowers, and fondly looked their last,
> And took a long farewell."

Amidst that noble band, there were men 'with hoary hair,' and

"There was woman's fearless eye,
Lit by her deep love's truth;
There was manhood's brow serenely high,
And the fiery heart of youth."

Gopalakrishna appealed to the rich men of Andhradesh to help the Chirala-Perala souls with money so that they might spend it in constructing huts and live an unhampered, free life. The Andhras responded to the appeal generously and the Andhra, Provincial Congress Committee voted Rs. 3,000. A Committee was formed to maintain order and peace in the colony and everyone obeyed the injunctions of the Committee.

On 24th September last the Andhra Conferences were held at Berhampore. Gopalakrishna went there to bring "*Sanjivi*" (money) to his Chirala-Perala brethren. Alleging that he made violent speeches, the District Collector of Ganjam ordered him under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code not to deliver speeches till one month in his jurisdiction. But Gopalakrishna fearlessly disobeyed the said order on 29th September giving intimation of it to the Collector a day before. At last on 1st October he was arrested at the Berhampore Railway

*Vide Appendix III.

Station and his trial was held at Chicacole Road. The Collector asked Gopalakrishna to give security and he, having refused, was sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment.

The news of his arrest flashed across the country with lightning rapidity and the whole country congratulated him from many platforms. He sent messages to his brethren at Chirala-Perala to continue the struggle peacefully to the end and he would be praying for their success during his stay in the gaol. He sent another message to his countrymen that they should be prepared even to die and establish Swaraj before the end of this year. The Chirala-Perala people congratulated him and resolved to maintain his family till he would return back free.

Gopalakrishna is thirty summers old. A stalwart man as he is, he wears pure Khadder dhoty, a Khadder turban, and beads of *rudraksha* around his neck. He looks like *Ramdas* (the servant of Rama.). He sings poems and *slokams* in praise of Shri Ramachandra and at all meetings he attends he induces the people to give up the western method of shouting, and cry "*Shrimad Rama Ramana Govindo Hari.*" (Let Creation, Protection and

Destruction go on.) He teaches Bhakti cult to the young men and women in the Andhradesh and picturing to them the noble personality of Hanuman he appeals to the people to be true servants of the country. He is humour incarnate and everybody, who has heard him, must confess he has been a great source of pleasure to the people. He used to keep them laughing so that they might not become morbid and desperate when they think of their slavish condition of life. He believes that the duty of a leader is to go forward, risking all hazards even to his life : and this is the reason why when some of his friends have expressed their doubts about non-violent aspect of the struggle in Palnad forest-affairs, he reprimanded thus :

"Your duty is to see that no violence is done. You must risk even your life to maintain non-violence. If the people assure you that they be *non-violent* then you think of going to Palnad and taking up the leadership!! That is the way with the cowards. When you doubt there occurs violence go and try your level best that no violence is done. Then only you are fit to be a leader of the people."

He was awarded the title of *Andhra Ratna* at the Guntur District Conference. He wrote

a book jointly with Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy on Dancing.

When I was travelling with Gopalakrishna to Berhampore during the month of September last to visit the Andhra Conferences he divulged to me some of his secret thoughts and opinions on men and matters in a frank, sincere and appealing manner. He confessed, with tears in his eyes, he had done many sins in his life but now he felt happy having "purged away the foreign matter." He has done his duty to his country and has become its servant. He expressed to me that property is murder and to down-trod the poor is a crime against humanity.

When he was going to Trichinopoly to be located in the gaol there, I met him at Bezwada Station, and he, taking his photo from me signed his autograph with a smile. He appealed to his friends to take care of his Chirala-Perala brethren, to be brave, and face even death for the sake of establishing Swaraj before the month of December ends. He humourously asked his friends to get jail certificates at an early date. As the train steamed out of the station, I saw him standing like the obedient Hanuman, hands-folded, smiling bidding good

bye to us all. As one of his lovely opponents remarked to me, "A great and important figure quits the stage of Andhra life and we feel his absence for sometime to come." Even his worst enemies had nothing to say against him but pour their torrents of mild praise on him out of their jealous hearts.

Ere long, I hope, he will come out with a philosophy of his own to teach his countrymen and may God bless him with long and healthy life so that he might successfully complete the work allotted unto him by his Creator.

EPILOGUE

In these pages I have traced the course of the noble struggle till Gopalakrishna's arrest and imprisonment. I will deal in the second part of the book with the new prosecutions that are going on and in what manner the fight ends.

Having been masters at applying the insidious policy of *Divide at impera,* the Government at the present moment are trying their best to prevail upon a portion of the population to return to the deserted villages, now giving hopes of appointments, then by gentle persuasion, and lastly by threats. The accused in the new prosecutions are determined to enter the gaols rather than give taxes to a municipality enforced on them at the point of a bayonet. The Government, as is evident, believe in repression as their sole remedy and think that if they punish the influential people in Chirala-Perala (new colony), the remaining population could be prevailed upon to come back to the deserted villages. We cannot help feeling pity

at the perverted mentality of the Bureaucracy for probably they do not know that repression is a strong dose to make the people determined to fight to the end. The Government stand condemned before the bar of public opinion for the atrocious manner in which they are treating 18,000 poor, wretched souls without a dram of pity on them. We have heard the tall-talk of justice and equity for a long time and are disgusted to see it tomtomed by the Viceroy, the Ex-chief Justice of England, without witnessing it in the *practical field.* What will he say if he sees five thousand men, homeless and wretched, willing to die to maintain their birth-right of self-determination, yet starving and preparing themselves to front with joy the coming awful winter cold? What will he say if he sees five thousand mothers living in misery and squalor, struggling to earn enough to feed their little children? What will he say if he sees five thousand children giving up their sportly lives, wearing out their strength, and nursing hatred towards those who blasted their lives? What will he say if he sees a thousand of old people, cast off and helpless, waiting for death to take them from their earthly troubles? What will he say if he sees fifteen thousand men

women, and children, who desiring not to submit to an unjust and enforced measure, toil every hour they can stand and see for just enough to keep them alive, who are condemned to monotony and weariness, to hunger and misery, and to heat and cold? Has Justice run amok in the case of these helpless people? Have those in power no hearts to sympathise with and allieviate the sufferings of these miserable people? Do they not feel for these unhappy villagers while living in their palaces, rioting in luxury and extravagance—"such as no words can describe, as makes the imagination reel and stagger, makes the soul grow sick and faint? Cannot the authorities abolish the municipality and yield to the righteous agitation of the people *once* in their life? What stands in their way to dissolve the municipality which nobody requires? Do they fear that they lose their prestige? Then woe unto those who worship the devil—

> "Blood on his heavenly altar flows,
> Hell's burning incense fills the air,
> And Death attests in street and lane,
> The hideous glory of his reign."

We believe the Local Government will not retrace its steps in this affair for we do not see

any signs till the present moment. The whole matter rests on a "Justice-loving" Viceroy. If he really believes in truth and justice, let him get down from the Elysian heights of Simla and personally undertake investigation into this tragedy. Let him judge for himself the righteousness or otherwise of his lieutenants' work and let him undo the mischief that is done. If even he remains mute and dumb, then we, mortals, must bid adieu to the higher authorities and be prepared to die in maintenance of our legitimate rights and liberties. We must leave ourselves into the hands of the Almighty and grope on in the darkness of misery and poverty exclaiming, O! Autocracy!

> "Thou curst by Heaven's decree,
> How ill exchanged are things like these for thee!
> How do thy potions, with insidious joy,
> Diffuse their pleasures only to destroy!
> Kingdoms by thee, to sickly greatness grown,
> Boast of a florid vigour not their own,
> At every draught more large and large they grow,
> A bloated mass of rank, unwieldy woe;
> Till sapped their strength, and every part unsound,

Down, down they sink, and spread a ruin
round."

Yes! Autocracy will never listen to the counsels of History, ranges itself against the people, digs its own grave, and buries itself "unwept, unhonoured, and unsung."

APPENDIX I

THE CHIRALA MUNICIPALITY

The Publicity Bureau Statement

The supersession of the Chirala Municipality has excited considerable comment in the newspapers. The public may like to know the circumstances in which the place was constituted as a Municipality and the reasons why it was decided to supersede the municipal council.

Chirala is the largest town in the Guntur District next to Guntur itself. At the census of 1911 it had a population of 22,000. It has a flourishing weaving and dyeing industry and it is also one of the biggest trade centres in the district. The place, however, is very congested and the Deputy Sanitary Commissioner who visited the town in July 1914, severely commented on the insanitary condition of the town and strongly recommended the conversion of the Union into a Municipality as the only possible means

of improving its sanitation, the resources of the Union being quite inadequate for the purpose. In January 1915, the District Board discussed the question of converting it into a Municipality and came to the conclusion that the proposal was premature. The Government did not therefore accept the recommendation of the Deputy Sanitary Commissioner.

In 1917 plague broke out in a virulent form in Chirala and spread to all the neighbouring places in the taluk and even Ongole was infected. In 1918 the Union Chairman himself reopened the question and submitted a formal proposal for the conversion of the Union into a municipality. The Taluk Board discussed the matter at a meeting held in June 1918 and approved of the proposal. Meanwhile some of the rich merchants of Chirala strongly protested against the change and so the question was re-discussed at a special meeting of the Taluk Board in August 1918. The Taluk Board by a large majority adhered to its original resolution.

The subject was placed before the District Board in September 1918 and the Board unanimously supported the proposal, although three years before it had come to the conclusion that it was premature. The Government carefully

considered the objections raised by some of the inhabitants of the place. The population of Chirala was more than that of 24 other towns which were under municipal administration, and it was in every way a more advanced place than several municipalities. The resources of the Union were quite inadequate for the improvement of the sanitation of the place, which was becoming a breeding place of epidemics. Plague had already broken out and the neighbouring places also had suffered, because the Chirala Union could not keep Chirala in a sanitary condition. After a consideration of all these circumstances the Government came to the conclusion that the opinion of the Taluk Board and the District Board should prevail. The town was therefore formally constituted as a Municipality in November 1919.

The inhabitants of the place presumably accepted the decision of the Government for there was no further agitation against the Municipality until September 1920, when some non-co-operators took advantage of the natural reluctance of the people to pay additional taxes and revived the agitation against the municipality. Ten out of the twelve councillors resigned and municipal administration was

brought to a standstill. The Hon. the Minister for Local Self Government himself visited the place, discussed the situation with the leading residents of the place, and made personal enquiries into their alleged grievances. He also offered to exempt agricultural cattle and land from municipal taxation. This should have satisfied the poorer residents of the place but apparently under the influence of the non-co-operators and some of the rich merchants and money-lenders, the offer was rejected. After a careful examination of the situation he came to the conclusion that the agitation for the abolition of the municipality was fictitious and that the town should continue to be a municipality in the interests of public health. The Government, therefore, decided to supersede the municipal council and appoint a paid officer to discharge the duties of the council and its chairman.

If the Government had decided otherwise, what would be the alternative? The Government might abolish the municipality and restore the Union, but this would not solve the difficulties that gave rise to the proposal for the constitution of a Municipality. Money has to be found for the improvement of the sanitation

of the town not merely in the interests of the inhabitants of Chirala, but also of those of the neighbouring places; for, if any epidemic breaks out at Chirala it is sure to spread to the neighbouring villages. The ordinary resources of the Union are quite insufficient for the purpose and either the Government would be compelled to extend the provisions of the District Municipalities Act relating to taxation to the Union or the Taluk Board would have to supply the money. If the former course were adopted, the ratepayers would have to pay exactly the same taxes that they now do but they would not have an independent status or the other advantages which a municipal administration implies. This would hardly be acceptable to them, for the main grievances of the people is against the additional taxes. As regards the second course, it is for the Taluk Board to decide whether it should pay for all the conveniences that the people of Chirala enjoy. The poverty of Taluk Boards is well-known and the only way by which they can find money is by the levy of an additional cess on land. The views of the Taluk Board are indicated in the following extracts from the letter of the President of the Ongole Taluk

Board, dated 23rd August 1918, in which the Board's resolution strongly recommending the conversion of the Union into a Municipality was conveyed to the District Board.

"Taxes collected elsewhere are now being spent on hospitals, schools, roads, markets, etc., in Chirala town where the inhabitants can afford to look to their wants and there is no reason why they should not be made to pay for their own comforts. For the above reasons the Taluk Board strongly recommends the conversion of the union into a Municipality."

It will be observed from what has been stated above that the point involved is not whether a municipality should be forced on Chirala but whether the Taluk Board or the residents of Chirala should pay for the hospital and the other conveniences which they enjoy and for the improvement of the sanitation of Chirala which is an urgent necessity. Should Chirala and its rich merchants, who are demanding the abolition of the Municipality, pay for those advantages to the town or should the poor ryot outside Chirala for them? That is the issue involved in this agitation for the abolition of the Municipality.

APPENDIX II.

THE REAL ISSUE ABOUT CHIRALA

A REPLY TO THE PUBLICITY BUREAU'S STATEMENT

1. The allegations of the Publicity Bureau are incorrect in several respects and are calculated to mislead the public regarding the attitude of the people of Chirala towards the constitution and continuance of the Municipality.

2. Chirala is not a single town. The old Union consisted of four villages—Chirala, Perala, Jandrapet, and Old Chirala. Perala is about a mile, Jandrapet about 2½ miles, and Old Chirala about two miles from Chirala Proper.

3. The statement about population is also incorrect. The population of all these places put together according to the census of 1911 was 18,618 and not 22,000, in 1919-20 it was only 18,600.

4. Of the four villages only the first two were constituted into a Municipality their population at the commencement of the Municipality being 13,500 ; It is widely believed that the other two places as well as a few houses in Chirala Proper were excluded from the municipal limits in deference to the wishes of the American Missionaries who possess extensive interests therein.

5. Chirala Municipality is not the second town in the district. It stands fourth in the list, Tenali with a population of about 23,000 and Ongole with a population of about 16,000, coming second and third respectively.

6. Chirala is not a flourishing trade-centre. Inconsiderable at any time, its trades in cotton fabrics declined during and after the war.

7. As regards the sanitation it is not a congested place. It possesses "a typically porous sandy soil" which absorbs the drainage water. Very good water is available for drinking and other purposes during all seasons of the year and never was any scarcity felt. It has a cool and salubrious climate. Plague was imported into Chirala in 1918, 1919 as into so many other towns big and small in the Andhradesa. It did not recur in subsequent years. The first town to be affected in Andhradesa was

Bezwada which has been a well-equipped Municipality for over 40 years. For the matter of that, it has been prevalent in large cities like Poona, Bombay, Hyderabad and Bangalore for years continuously in spite of the existence of efficient municipal councils. So the reason assigned by the Bureau for the imperative need of forcing a Municipality on Chirala is untenable.

8. As regards official and non-official opinion about the fitness of Chirala to be constituted into a Municipality, the Bureau's failure to refer to the opinion of the Hon. N. E. Marjoribanks, I.C.S., is significant. Before the War, he reported against such constitution and the District Board endorsed his view in 1915. Evidently, no change in the natural situation of Chirala or its attendant advantages had occurred to justify the change in the Board's view in 1918. Quite possibly, it registered the Decrees of superior authority. In any case, the views of the semi-officialised Taluk and District Boards do not truly represent the views of the people, and in this particular case, their decision can not carry much weight inasmuch as they were anxious to shift their pecuniary responsibility in the matter of roads, hospital and education

on to the shoulders of the poor inhabitants of Chirala. Last year the Sub-Collector of Ongole recommended its abolition.

9. That Chirala is a poor place is evident from the following figures ;—

I. The average annual tax in the Union was Re. 1-5-9 per house and about As. 4 per head while that in the adjacent Union of Vetapalem with a population of 10,582 was Re. 1-5-9 per house and Re. 0-5-4 per head, and that in Pennur it was Rs. 1-14-4 and Re. 0-7-10. The average for the Unions in the district was Rs. 2 per house and As. 8 per head.

II. Of the 4,529 houses, in Chirala Union, only 200 were classed in the first four classes liable to pay Rs. 4 per annum and above and the total tax realised from them was only Rs. 1,177. 2,548 houses were entered in classes 8 and 9 liable to pay As. 4 and As. 8 per year, fetching altogether Rs. 862-4-0.

III. About 90 per cent. of the population live by dyeing and weaving which bring them a bare living wage.

IV. The agricultural lands are poor. Of manufacturing activities, there is only one rice factory and nothing else.

10. The Municipality was established in

January 1920 and not in November 1919, The Government announced its intention of making Chirala a Municipality on 16th September 1919. The people protested by telegram on 16th October 1919 and followed it up by a memorial which exhaustively dealt with the situation and afforded complete proof of the undesirability of converting it into a Municipality. The Union Chairman who is reported to have sent up a resolution in favour of the conversion was a man hated of the people. The people intimated to the Government their opinion of this person in strongly worded telegrams. He and the members of the Union over which he presided were nominated by the officials and very naturally echoed their views.

11. When in spite of popular opposition, the Government chose to establish the Municipality, the people formed themselves into a ratepayers' association on 18th February 1920 to mitigate the rigour of the municipal visitation. Their first official act was to protect against the heavy taxation. The Chairman and the Councillors, all of whom were nominated by the Government, levied very high rates. While the income from the Union consisting of four villages with a population of 18,600 was about Rs. 4,700 for the year

1919-20, the budgeted income for the year 1919-20, of the newly constituted Municipality consisting of only two villages with a population of 13,500 was Rs. 33,136 and actual collection for the first half-year came up to the huge figure of Rs. 20,500. While the actual expenditure in the Union for the same period was Rs. 4,200, the estimated expenditure of the Municipality was Rs. 29,136 and the actual expenditure for the first half-year was Rs. 8,008 which shows that the Municipality added enormously to the burdens without causing any material improvement in the people's condition. Out of this expenditure of Rs. 8008, the costly office establishment and miscellaneous charges which were the inevitable accompaniments of the Municipality consumed Rs. 2,668 while public works and lighting were starved with a sum of Rs. 550 and the rest was paid for items of expenditure hitherto borne by the Taluk and District Boards. The total amount proposed to be spent on education was only Rs. 1,030 which could cover the cost of but one out of the 13 schools in the place. There was already in existence a private middle school. Thus the Municipality did not add even to the educational facilities of Chirala.

12. The very fact admitted by the Bureau that there are 24 Municipalities with a population smaller than that of Chirala shows that both the authorities and the people considered Chirala Union unfit for municipal administration for a long time, and for that very reason did not interfere with the Union which had been in existence for over 35 years. The census report of 1911 shows that at least 12 towns with a population larger than that of Old Chirala Union were not made Municipalities. This shows that population is not the sole or main criterion in the establishment of a Municipality.

13. As regards medical aid of which much capital is sought to be made by the Bureau, the local hospital was not intended mainly for the inhabitants of Chirala. It served the needs of several surrounding villages. The Ongole Taluk Board had to its credit only three or four hospitals in the two taluks under their jurisdiction. In view of the fact that the Taluk Boards have not established itinerant hospitals, the hospitals established by them should be located in some place or other and, if in this particular instance, the 'Taluk Board pitched upon Chirala' it did not do so at the request of the people of Chirala and there is nothing inequita-

ble in charging the cost to the Taluk Board. The inequity on the other hand, would lie in charging it to Chirala solely. The Chirala people would gladly get rid of the hospital if it is to be had only on condition of maintaining a Municipality at the enormous cost of Rs. 40,000 per year.

14. The main road that serves Perala and Chirala Proper is a portion of the Trunk Road that passes between Bapatla and Ongole and is not specially laid for these two villages. The remarks of the Taluk Board President relied upon by the Bureau in this respect are wholly beside the point.

15. The Publicity Bureau tries hard to make out that the inhabitants meekly submitted to the Municipality till some non-co-operators bent on mischief disturbed the placid contentment of the masses, and set afloat an unreasonable agitation. There is nothing strange in this sort of attitude as the Publicity Bureau is set up for the express purpose of bolstering up the official view. The fact that nearly the whole demand for the first half-year of 1920 was paid up by the people may tend to support the Bureau's view. But the payment was necessitated in order to acquire a right of

appeal against the oppressive taxation, and, as a matter of fact, several appeals were filed. The ratepayer's association sent up protest after protest and waited in deputation on the ex-officio Chairman who paid no heed to them all. In addition to this the people were prosecuted for merely trivial acts of nuisance and heavily fined by the Second-Class Magisterial Bench. The dyeing yards which had been in use from time immemorial were objected to by the Chairman and the people were asked to prepare their dye-stuffs far away from their homes. This caused serious inconvenience and hardship.

16. The high taxation, the frequent and frivolous prosecutions, the notices to remove the dyeing yards taken together exasperated the people and strengthened their determination to get rid of the municipality. Finding that their protests and memorials were of no avail, they resolved to suspend payment of taxes on 27th December, 1920.

17. The Minister came to Chirala early in February 1921 at about 9 A. M. rested in the bungalow 5 yards from the station during the day-time and left the place after nightfall. He did not inspect the place. He merely tried to

preach the justice-party doctrines and create a split amongst the people on caste-lines, but failed ignominiously.

18. The municipal councillors that resigned made it clear that they realised the difficulties of the people and sympathised with them in their efforts to dissolve the municipality.

19. The Bureau's statement talks glibly about applying the municipal rules to major unions in certain contingencies. But the foregoing statement must have made it abundantly clear that the people need not and cannot pay any extraordinary charges which ought in the nature of things to be borne by the Local Boards.

20. The Publicity Bureau has deliberately misstated the whole issue when it framed it in the following terms:—

"Should Chirala and its rich inhabitants who are demanding the abolition of the municipality pay for those advantages to the town or should the poor ryot outside Chirala pay for them."

The real issue is "Whether even in the sphere of Local Self-Government the views of the prestige-ridden Bureaucracy should prevail over the wishes of the people expressed emphatically and unambiguously?" The evacuation, so

heroically undertaken and so peacefully conducted is a conclusive reply to the allegation that the whole trouble is due to a handful of mischief-mongering non-co-operators. The attempt of the Bureau to create a split between the residents of Chirala and the ryots of the Taluk Board and to wean away the sympathies of the people is bound to fail and has already failed. The people in several villages are contributing their might to the relief of the inhabitants of Chirala.

APPENDIX III

CHIRALA-PERALA, THE NEW PHASE

(ISSUED BY THE PUBLICITY OFFICER, THE ANDHRA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE.)

The struggle at Chirala-Perala for the cancellation of the municipality has entered on a new phase. After the evacuation and the construction of hundreds of sheds for accommodating the large population, Government seem to have determined upon crushing the spirit of the people by subjecting them to oppression in new and ingenious ways. The Revenue Department levied penal cesses in respect of the sheds on the ground that they were pitched in Government assessed waste. The rate for each shed is Rs. 10-2-6, the value of the sheds themselves being about Rs. 26 each. This levy of penalty has been made on 41 sheds on pain of eviction. We understand that 74 more notices will be

issued shortly and that 70 more are under consideration.

2. It is well to remember in this connection that the evacuation was completed and the sheds put up about the first week of May. The people have passed these three months in the sheds. The summer was unusually severe, the maximum temperature being 116 degrees in the sheds. During June and July 10½" of rain has fallen and most of the sheds are leaking. In spite of all these adverse circumstances these brave citizens of Chirala-Perala fighting for justice, truth and self-determination, have continued their struggle and stood the test most admirably.

3. The Publicity Bureau of the Madras Government mentions that for the year 1920-21 there were 32 income-tax assessees in Chirala-Perala and argues that it is evidence of prosperity. But we understand that the number of assessees is only 35 out of a population of 14 to 15 thousand. The Bureau also tries to make out that the municipality was established in order to confer on the people the privileges of self-Government. But at Chirala-Perala even as at Repalli the existence of the municipality has meant not the enjoyment by the people of the

privileges of self-Government, but the very negation of all self-Government. The people prayed, protested and in the end left their ancient dwellings rather than submit to a municipality which was imposed on them against their will.

4. In the repression at Chirala-Perala, the roll of honour is lengthening. Already 12 men and 1 woman have served out their term of imprisonment for refusing to pay the municipal taxes. Three men are now undergoing rigorous imprisonment in the Central Jail at Rajahmundry; six more are awaiting orders of incarceration. It is extraordinary that these six were sentenced to imprisonment—nearly a month ago and the sentence held in abeyance. We have not heard of any other instance in which convicted persons are quietly told that they might go home and await orders, not even bail bonds being taken from them. Many more in Chirala-Perala are prepared to fill the prisons. The struggle is being carried on with remarkable vigour and persistence though the dislocation of business caused by the evacuation and the loss of living in the case of poorer inhabitants have entailed serious hardship.

5. The property of the convicted persons has

been attached and brought to sale a number of times at Bapatla and at Guntur for realising the amount of fine levied on them. But no bidders have come forward in either place. This is an eloquent testimony to the sympathy generally felt for the sufferings of the Chirala-Perala patriots.

6. Some legislative councillors seem to be vying with each other to secure credit for themselves by moving in the Council for the cancellation of the municipality. But let it be distinctly understood that their exertions are not the outcome of any solicitude on the part of responsible individuals connected with this struggle at Chirala-Perala.

APPENDIX IV

THE HERO OF CHIRALA-PERALA
THE TRIAL SCENE

MR. GOPALAKRISHNIAH'S STATEMENT

(FROM ANDHRA PROVINCIAL CONGRESS PUBLICITY BUREAU)

BERHAMPORE, October 1.—We have already intimated that Andhraratna Duggirala Gopalakrishniah was arrested on the 1st instant at Berhampore station under a warrant issued by the District Magistrate of Ganjam for "disseminating sedition". The warrant mentioned no section. On the 2nd morning he was taken to Chicacole Road station to take his trial before the District Magistrate. It is noteworthy that though a second-class ticket was purchased for him the Deputy Superintendent of Police, insisted of his travelling in

inter-class. This is a trifle but it shows up the mentality of the officials. The trial commenced at 12 noon. The preliminary order under section 112 was handed over to Mr. Gopalakrishniah just before the commencement of the trial whereas in the ordinary course it should have been served along with the warrant. The preliminary order was as follows :—

THE TEXT OF NOTICE

Duggirala Gopalakrishniah of Guntur District.

Whereas information has been laid by the District Superintendent of Police, Ganjam, that, on 24th and 26th September, at the Andhra Conference and on 27th September at a mass meeting in Berhampore within the limits of my jurisdiction, you delivered speeches calculated to stir up hatred and contempt of the Government by law established in British India and to incite the people to revolt by making an obscene remark about the King-Emperor, by comparing the Government of Ravana, Bali Chakravarti and Hiranyakasyapa and elaborating these comparisons with false accusations that the present Government has ruined the people of the country and asserting that it must and will

be destroyed in three months, and further by threat of what will happen to those who do now support rebellion; whereas also you sought to stir up enmity between the Brahmin and non-Brahmin by taunting the Brahmins with their alleged miserable conditions and abusing non-Brahmins as traitors to their country for co-operating with Government; I hereby call upon you to show cause why you should not be ordered to furnish security in a sum of Rs. 1,000 to be of good behaviour for a period of one year, with one surety in a like amount.

(Sd.) T. G. RUTHERFORD,

District Magistrate,

2nd October 1921.

Thus it turned out that the prosecution was not in respect of his speech delivered on the 29th "in due disobedience" to the District Magistrate's order under Section 144 served on Mr. Gopalakrishniah on the 28th. It is likely that a separate prosecution is awaiting.

THE STATEMENT

Mr. Gopalakrishniah gave his statement orally in English "in order to expedite the

business of the Court." But he took care to sign it in Telugu. The District Magistrate did not permit him to make his statements sitting though he pleaded ill-health. His statement was in the form of a running commentary on the allegations in the preliminary order with which dialogues interposed here and there. The statement ran as follows:—

"It is a fact that I spoke at the Andhra Conferences on the 24th and 26th of September and at the mass meeting at Berhampore on the 27th. My speeches were "calculated" to give a correct idea of the mental and moral constitution of the existing Government. I do not know whether they are "stirring up hatred and contempt." But I certainly "incited" them to prepare themselves for civil disobedience eventually. If however you wish to use the word "revolt," it is revolt in the realm of morality and of ideas, but certainly not revolt in the military sense of the term and our aim is to purify the Britisher in its conduct towards men and things.

Question:—Magistrate:—You made an obscene remark about the King-Emperor.

Answer: Gopal: What is that?

Here the Prosecuting Inspector read out

a passage from Mr. Gopalakrishniah's speech of the 24th which showed that Mr. Gopalakrishniah and others had on one occasion corrected a drunken lout of Chirala who was crying out:—'Ping George ki Jai' and asked him to say "King George ki Jai."

Mr. Gopal:—I brought up the remark about King George to show the type of allies that are gone in for by the local officials, in despair.

Continuing the statement Mr. Gopalakrishniah said:—I compared the Government to Ravana, Bali and Hiranyakasyapa. I have been doing so for the last 6 or 7 months particularly because they present the exact analogies to the different aspects of the existing Government from the Puranas which alone are competent to be presented to the masses so as to help their understanding instead of stale common places or boring philosophic presentations. I have elaborated these comparisons in order to show up the aesthetic implications of the setting which I am glad to say is very exact.

"That the present Government has ruined the country" is true and not false. My assertion that "it must and will be destroyed" holds true. I never mentioned any months in the absolute sense, though it is our hope to attain Swarajya

in three months according to Mahatmaji's gauging of the situation.

The Magistrate: You seem to be as exceedingly a popular preacher. You raise laughter.

Mr. Gopal; Laughter prevents people from becoming morbid. It lubricates the soul.

Continuing, he said:—About "threaten to those who do not support rebellion," the fact that is alleged was only a spiritual demonstrance, a moral admonition that one cannot escape judgment before the maker of things on judgment day.

I did say that some "non-Brahmins" are traitors. What I meant was that there are some amongst us who do not call themselves Kshatriyas. Vysyas or Sudras but go in for an exceedingly funny appellation "non-brahmin" which by its very nature implies hatred of the Brahmins. And when the Government countenanced the birth and growth of these communities which is so avowedly anti-Brahmin (hatred of Brahmins) I felt that the Government will be sporty enough to rub in our statements pretty complacently. The Government has overtly and covertly assisted the impudence of this non-Brahmin community and thus themselves "stirred up enmity" if any as

alleged in the order. As regards "showing cause," "I am a non-co-operator and I have nothing to say but quietly, meekly and humbly submit to whatever punishment the Government choose to inflict on me and pray for the betterment of my countrymen as well as of the Government."

It is unfortunate that the charge of having made obscene remarks about King George has come up against me. I am afraid it is due to a misinterpretation or misunderstanding of my language in its context. It is but right that I should express my regret about it. I have already explained the circumstances in which I used the quotation. It was never my own and I am equally indignant that such a remark should have fallen from an ally of Government in my village.

Mr. Gopal continued:—

"About the mythological statement I shall make a general remark to dispel delusion. First about Ravana, while comparing the existing Government to Ravana, I prefaced it with a correct thesis of Rakshasa's country to the current notion, I said Rakshasas are not devils or demons but may be human with an emphasis on a particular manifestation of egoism. That is

why I instanced Ravana's snatching away of others' women and contrasted it with the existing Government snatching away of others' wealth. I also said that otherwise Ravana was a very great man worshipping a thousand "Lingams" every morning. In a similar manner while bringing in the analogy of Hiranyakasyapa I said the British Government stood to us in the relation of a father

"Magistrate:" And that is why you wish to get rid of them in 3 months.

Gopal. But is because they are just reaching the sublimity of egoism. I was not quite sure and expressly stated that I did not know whether they were the one or the other (Bali or Hiranyakasyapa). They were not ripe. We were yet in the realm of hypothesis.

"In the case of Bali he gracefully and graciously offered what was asked of him. And I said that it was a genuine relation which we all hoped for as an ally in an imperial brotherhood. Regarding the three months' limit Mahatma Gandhi has on many an occasion expressed his conviction that we will get Swarajya in three months; and being a faithful disciple I have nothing to doubt about it.

Regarding the currency notes I have examin-

ed a hypothetical situation which, by the way, must be popular and not abstruse; and this I have been doing on many a platform. Further it is quite clear from the evidence that not a single currency note has been cashed. The whole thing was purely academical.

"It is rather interesting that while two thousand persons attended the meeting (of the 27th), people from the cultured strata of society have not come forward to depose to the correct understanding appreciation and revaluation of my speech. I always present my statement with force, with clarity and with mythological allusions seasoned with plenty of humour, I do it deliberately in order to prevent the masses from getting morbid over the ills of Government and to preserve an equipoise in their feelings. Differences in outlook and differences in taste and language are perhaps the reason why these misinterpretations or misunderstandings have occurred. Whatever looks indecent is merely a difference in idiom. Differences in idiom may result in creating a false sense of indecency; but that is all.

"About the Prince of Wales I mentioned, not 12,000 but 1,200 as having died in the Punjab. I said we were in mourning—not in Pollution'

—and could not extend to him a hearty welcome.

"Generally speaking my view is in accordance with the Congress view and particularly I follow Mahatma Gandhi's precepts. I have nothing more to add."

MAGISTRATE'S QUESTIONS

Magistrate:—Do you deny the charge of having stirred enmity against Government?

Gopal:—I do deny it. Being a sport myself I do not create enmity against Government nor do I intend it.

Magistrate:—And about creating disaffection?

Here followed a discussion as to the exact meaning to be attached to the word "disaffection."

At last, Mr. Gopal said:—'Now I shall give you a concrete instance." Mahatma Gandhi has said that the present Government is 'satanic.' I am a follower of Mahatmaji and I also believe in it. Now is that disaffection?

Magistrate:—It may be so but you say you do not stir up enmity.

Gopal:—I do not.

Magistrate:—That will do.

The proceedings closed for the day at this stage (5 P.M.). The case was adjourned for judgment to 9 A.M. next day (3rd October 1921). Mr. Gopal was released on his personal recognisance so that his friends had an opportunity of spending some more time with him. Next morning at 9-30 the Magistrate summoned Mr. Gopal before him and the following conversation took place between them.

Magistrate :—Will you sign the bond and furnish security?

Gopal :—No. As a Congressman I cannot do it.

Magistrate:—I am sorry I would much rather prefer your executing the bond. But since you refuse I must finish the order, but why don't you execute the bond?

Gopal :—I cannot do it now. I shall give security to a free Government.

Magistrate :—What do you mean by a free Government? It is probably anarchy.

Gopal :—Why, this very Government will evolve itself into a free Government.

Magistrate :—It will if you help those of us who are trying our best to evolve it. Why do you carry on your political agitation with so much rancour?

Gopal:—There is no rancour. It is only righteous indignation. It may appear to have a veneer of rancour.

Magistrate:—Why should it?

Gopal:—We are in opposite political camps. So, it may look like rancour to the prejudiced eyes of our opponents.

Magistrate:—You were in England for five years. You know the political agitation there is not carried on with so much rancour.

Gopal:—No. But the Government there is more sportly.

Magistrate:—Did you think so?

Gopal:—Yes. Don't you see how Lloyd George has agreed to another conference with De Valera accepting his "sine qua non."

Magistrate:—But Lord Reading saw Gandhi.

Gopal:—But not in a similar manner and with the same credentials as De Valera. What is the term of my imprisonment?

Magistrate:—One year's simple imprisonment or such earlier term if you furnish security. I hear that Raja Venkatakrihna Rao is already thinking of furnishing security. (This, by the way, is not correct.)

The District Magistrate wished to know if any special arrangements were to be made for

diet. Mr. Gopal said that he was not well and that he would be glad if he was provided with milk and wheat diet, and continue his usual medicine. The District Magistrate made a note of it and agreed to give wide discretion to the Jail Superintendent. Mr. Gopal thanked the District Magistrate for the courtesy shown by the District Magistrate towards himself and his friends throughout the proceedings. He also observed that such courtesy was not usually forthcoming.

Magistrate:—Is there anything else you want?

Gopal:—I wish to say just a few words to my friend Ramakotiswara Rao.

Magistrate:—Yes, he may accompany you in the car to the Railway station.

When he came out I (Mr. Ramakotiswara Rao) asked him how he took to charges. He said:—One at least is absurd, namely, that of having used obscene remarks. If I am asked as to why it was mentioned in the meeting at all, I would reply that truth however ugly it is and however unaesthetic its form must be told. Drawing room susceptibilities are out of place in a gathering of grim politics, Mahatma Gandhiji appears in his "Kaupenam" (loin

cloth), before an audience of 50,000, these people would probably explain that the demonstration is highly obscene. This is an usual subterfuge of the Government to damn the voteries of the movement. I am never under the influence of "moralic acid." I suspect with Nietzche that "English puritanism smell-spleen and alcoholic excess." Regarding other charges, they are the usual story everywhere and my statement is explanatory enough. The one new thing is about those mythological allusions. My thesis about Rakshasas and their attainment of moksha through "sathru sadhana," if properly placed before the public will clearly obviate the charge and incidentally present the different aspects of the existing Government in a typically Indian manner to a typically Indian audience uncorrupted in their mentality and unalloyed in their instinct. He added : "I do not hate the 'non-Brahmans.' I have all love for them but I grieve that some of them are opposed to the Swarajya movement."

He gave some parting messages to be conveyed to friends and expressed his gratefulness and his sincere respects to Mahatmaji and to Desabhakta Venkatappayya.

I wish to add a word about the District Magistrate Mr. T. G. Rutherford. His behaviour throughout the trial was exceedingly gentlemanly. He was good humoured and was smiling visibly on occasions more especially when P. W. 1 was explaining how, according to Mr. Gopalakrishniah. Lord Willingdon resembled Ravana with his ten heads; The eight Ministers were the eight heads; Lord Willingdon's own head was the 9th and on the top of it all, Sir P. Tyagaraya Chetty's was the tenth."At the last remark the Magistrate burst out laughing. He also mentioned that the Government of Madras were likely to make special arrangements for political prisoners and that Mr. Gopalakrishniah might take his own bed, cot and other things.

The Magistrate's order contained the following passage:—

"This District has hitherto been spared such excess of political madness, and I see no reason why if accused has been allowed to pursue his career of incitement to disaffection unchecked elsewhere, he should be allowed to do so here. Further even from his manner in Court, it is c'ear that he has the art of putting an audience in good humour with itself and the speaker,

and is therefore more dangerous as an agitator. That he is utterly reckless is shown by his disobeying an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code issued after the delivery of the speech now under consideration.

ADDENDUM

THE HERO OF CHIRALA-PERALA RESURRECTED

ALLEGED SEDITION

Second trial under Section 124A, Indian Penal Code.

It was stated in the columns of *Kistna Patrica* of 5th November, 1921 that Mr. Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya, who was sentenced to one year's simple imprisonment under Section 107 Criminal Procedure Code (security proceedings) at Berhampore would have to undergo another trial at Masulipatam on 10th November under Section 124A, Indian Penal Code. The Andhra people did not at first believe the paper's revelation; but afterwards when the *Andhra Patrica* published that Gopalakrishna was brought from Trichinopoly to Madras and thence he would proceed to Masulipatam to undergo a

farcical trial, the Andhras were astir and began to wonder at the wicked policy of the Government of Madras. Gopalakrishna started on 8th November at Madras by Waltair passenger and at every station on his way to Bezwada, people flocked in large numbers to pay their respects to the hero. At Bezwada on 9th morning, at 8 o'clock, people crowded to have a glimpse of the hero's features. Till 11 o'clock, there was a regular stream of people coming and going, asking the hero of his experiences in the jail, begging him to receive fruits they brought with them and when he gladly accepted them, quitting the place with great joy and happiness. At Bezwada I met Gopalakrishna and he handed over to me the notice served on him at Trichinopoly Central Jail to take a copy of it. Here is the notice :—

"C. C. 4 OF 1921.

NOTICE FOR THE ACCUSED.

IN THE COURT OF THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE, KISTNA

To Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya Garu now in Central Jail, Trichinopoly.

Notice is hereby given to you that a case against you under Section 124A, Indian Penal

Code, filed before this Court stands posted to 10th November 1921 at 11 A.M. at Masulipatam.

You can engage a pleader if you desire to do so.

Given under my hand and seal this 27th day of October 1921.

(Sd.) H, H. F. M. TYLER.

District Magistrate."

The train for Masulipatam started punctually at 11 o'clock. Gopalakrishna had some breathing space after the train started, when he told us his experiences of the Jail. The features of the hero clearly indicate that his health has failed him ; and he said " I never thought such a hell (the jail) exists upon this beautiful earth." He described the jail as a *cremation ground* wherein one pines after his love, another abuses the prison authorities, a third falls foul with his fellow-prisoner and so on. It seems, he said, that seven Sikhs, who were sentenced to transportation for life in the last Lahore Conspiracy case were on hunger-strike at Trichinopoly jail protesting against the wretched conditions prevailing there. The jail warders, it is a custom with them, to cry " all is well " during the nights. Gopalakrishna

made them to change their cry into "all is hell." The prison authorities, after a great deliberation extending over a fortnight, gave our hero a pencil and no paper. Gopalakrishna wrote with the pencil on the white wall of his cell "*Economics does not cure a crime*." He also said that people should not be attracted by garlands if they go to jails but must be prepared to undergo all difficulties, nay even be prepared to sacrifice their lives.

At every intermediate station, a group of passengers came, visited the hero, asked about his health, presented fruits, and carried his message of love and sacrifice. The train steamed into the Masulipatam station at 2 o'clock where a large crowd of people gathered on the platform to give a royal welcome to the hero. As soon as he got down from the compartment Gopalakrishna was garlanded and he embraced Mr. Krishna Rao, Editor, the *Kistna Patrica*, expressing his ecstacies of joy on seeing his old "friend and philosopher." A large number of friends came from Guntur, Bezwada, Gudivada, and other places to attend the trial the next day. Gopalakrishna was taken in procession in a jutka followed by a huge crowd of people, singing national songs, and was lodged in the

sub-jail. All streets were lined with large number of spectators and that was a *gala* day in Masulipatam. The police tried their best to get rid of the procession but their attempts ignominously failed. It was in 1908 that the first sedition trial took place at Masulipatam in the Andhradesh when two patriots were sentenced to 6 and 9 months simple imprisonment and again the town sustained its traditions well in the year1921.

On 10th November 1921 the trial commenced punctually at 11 A.M. before Mr. H. H. F. M. Tyler, C. I. E. I.C.S., the District Magistrate of Kistna. The attendance was very restricted; but after some rupture, some of the prominent men were allowed into the court.

When the Public Prosecutor, Mr. Sidimbi Hanumantha Rao was addressing the court Gopalakrishnayya asked the District Magistrate "Excuse me, Sir, will you please ask him (the Public Prosecutor) to speak a little louder?"

The District Magistrate accordingly directed the Public Prosecutor.

Gopal :—Am I here as an accused?

Dt. Mg. :—Yes.

Gopal :—Is this trial a public trial or a *ghosha* affair?

Dt. Mg. :—This is a public trial.

Gopal :—If so, can you consider anyone as a public man here?

Dt. Mg. :—I have no objection if anybody proposes to come in.

Gopal :—How many had you proposed to admit?

Dt. Mg.:—As many as this hall can accommodate.

Here the Deputy Superintendent intervened and said that nobody was forthcoming, though about a thousand people stood outside the gates waiting anxiously for admittance.

Gopal :—Is nobody forthcoming!! I saw my friends outside the gate which remains closed evidently with the intention of preventing everybody from entering in. For instance there is my friend Krishna Rao, awaiting admittance outside the gate.

Dt. Mg.:—I invited Mr. Krishna Rao (thinking him to be Mr. M. Krishna Rao). I sent him a letter.

Gopal :—Possibly it might not have reached Mr. Krishna Rao.

Dt. Mg. :—It is not my look-out.

Gopal :—Oh! the police must have managed

it otherwise. I am afraid people will put it to diplomacy so that there may be a show of the District Magistrate having allowed some to come in and the police in the interests of 'order' prevented everybody and thus get credit for having managed "decently." I am not anxious anybody should come in: as a matter of fact I do not recognise this court at all and I do not consider myself as undergoing trial as it is prohibited by our Congress. If I participate in the proceedings, I do it only as presenting my position to a fair-minded English gentleman who is anxious to know the truth of the whole affair, the accusations of the Government and my comment thereon.

The Deputy Superintendent of Police audaciously again remarked that nobody expresses his wish to come in.

Gopal:—The people outside the gate may not know at all. You may just send a word to them; and I hope you will pardon my precipitating the silence of the "court." It might bore you and everybody here.

After so much fuss, a small number of people were admitted into the court.

C. Krishnaswami Naidu, Inspector of Police, lodged complaint under section 124A, Indian

Penal Code, on behalf of the Government of Madras. The subject of the prosecution was a speech delivered at Ellore by Gopalakrishna on 26th June 1921. The Madras Government sanctioned prosecution in September and the case was heard on 10th November.

Gopal:—The case would have been settled by punchayets when Swaraj comes and there is no need for wasting so much precious time here.

Dt. Mg.:—You have not got swaraj yet.

Gopal:—We will get it shortly. You may postpone the case till then.

Then S. Ponnurangam Mudaliar, the Deputy Superintendent of Police, was called in. He said that he belongs to Vellala community and attested the signature of Marjoribanks, the official who sanctioned the prosecution on behalf of the Government of Madras.

Gopal:—Then Brahmin (*Vs.*) non-Brahmin. I am glad you did not declare yourself as a non-Brahmin for Brahmins are dead in my country.

Dt. Mg.:—Will you cross-examine the witness?

Gopal:—I do not. I know Englishman will never forge and their tradition is a long time back to visit forgery by hanging.

K. Srinivasa Rao, a short-hand sub-Inspector, was called in. He said:—

"I have been deputed to take speeches at Ellore by my official superiors. I took short-hand notes of Mr. Gopalakrishnayya's speech at Ellore. The meeting was on 26th June 1921, These are the shorthand notes of the speech (pointing to the notes). I have taken the speech correctly. I obtained the signature of the superior officer immediately after the meeting was over. I have obtained the signature of the Assistant Superintendent of Police Mr. K. I have transcribed the speech into longhand. Exhibit B is the correct transcription of the speech. Exhibit B is in my own handwriting and signed by me. I have also taken the speeches of other speakers. They are also in shorthand and longhand. The transcription of the accused's speech begins from pages 22 to 39 and 44, 47, and 48 pages also.

Gopal:—I wish to have a copy of the speeches.

P. P.:—I have no objection.

Dt. Mg.:—Will you cross-examine the witness?

Gopal:—No. I am not much concerned with the reliability or unreliability of these chaps. I

do not want to be *cross* with them at all. I am glad that the Government obtained such a band of fellows who do the shorthand writing in our language smartly so that they might be producing something like your *Hansard* (the Parliamentary Reports). I am not particular about that. Please see that you expediate the proceedings so that time might not be wasted and you bring in as many of our men as you can and help us in winning Swaraj immediately.

Then the shorthand reporter read the whole speech.

Gopal:—I want to draw your (District Magistrate's) attention that my whole speech is woefully disconnected and he(the shorthand reporter) misunderstood some of the statements. He presented the speech in a shabby manner and there are many omissions and in many parts irrelevant. Of course he has taken notes from my speech. He omitted many thesis. I said something about Panchamas and the theory of criminology. Perhaps the whole of my speech would have taken more than 200 pages (laughter in the court).

Here the accused asked the District Magistrate to put in one statement after another so as to

but not outside. Please note reliability of shorthand notes is not my concern.

P. P. :—There are other speeches of the accused which do not come under this section but throw light on the subject of his thought.

Gopal :—Delivered at what place ?

P. P. :—Some at Bezwada.

Gopal :—Then take them into 124A section.

Dt. Mg. :—If they are relevant.

Gopal :—Why ! Judging from their physiognamy the Bezwada speeches come along with Ellore ones and they betray a kinship. I request you to take in the Bezwada speeches. Technically speaking we are at war and my thesis there was war and violence can afford to be two different things. I was demonstrating as to how to obtain war without violence for instance *Sâpam* and our Rishis are *Sâpâyudhulu* which is not a metaphor. I have developed the Congress creed, of course, not conflicting with it but supplementing it. Those speeches must be taken into this section for in them I advocated a sort of war—*Dandopâyam.*

(Here the bayonet of the Reserved Policeman fell down and the accused remarked it was a bad omen as it forbades the Government made drop down violence.)

Dt. Mg. (to P.P.):—I cannot allow the Bezwada speeches to be filed here. How do you say that the accused's Ellore speech offends 124A?

P. P. (got up and began to take the objectionable portions, one by one, and commented on them.)

"When white faces that have come from a distance of 8,000 miles rule, we sit with white (pale) faces." This sentence creates disaffection. "Thieving is going on in my country." This sentence implies accusation against the Government and tends to produce hatred in the minds of the hearers. These sentences—"They have instilled fear and devotion (in us). They have first instilled poison into our heads"—also help to create contempt towards the Government.

Gopal:—These sentences have been taken away from their context and the Public Prosecutor attributes wrong meaning to them. This is a typical case of omission.

Dt. Mg.:—After the speech of the Public Prosecutor you can have your say.

Gopal:—I do not want to waste your time. You will help us to win Swaraj if you send as many of my countrymen as you can to jails within this month.

P. P. :—(continuing). "You have been here without shame or whatsoever when people who came from 8000 miles rule over you." This sentence also indicates disaffection. "If need be, we must have the power to throw, at once, one hundred white men into the *Swarga*. If not we are unfit for swaraj." This sentence clearly evokes hatred against the Government.

Gopal :—That is a typical case of omission. My view was that people have become so emaciated, lean and lanky and look so lancorous with some deep-seated agony *e.g.*, look at myself. We, people, must be like you (pointing to the District Magistrate), robust, strong, and well-built. We must be a match to the Englishmen in point of wealth and strength.

P. P. :—"Our difficulties are severe : We are not able to live." This means that the Government does not allow us to live. And this certainly creates disaffection towards the Government.

Gopal :—I propose you should go to the national college and study idioms for sometime. I said "we do not deserve to live." But your translation of the Telugu idiom is meaningless.

P. P. :—Gandhi is *Rudramurty* (the God of

Destruction). If we take the context it indicates hatred and contempt.

Gopal:—That is a typical case of incorrect understanding. The Police are not philosophers. Hence this defect. I have developed a great thesis on it. I will explain it to you. Economics deal with wealth. Wealth consists of utilities; and utilities are "appropriated." Appropriation is consumption. The commodity, material or immaterial, must cease to exist that is to say when we impart value to things we decree their death: and such death is *Pralaya* whose *Adhisthana Devata* is Rudra.

P. P.:—"The Government is *arrogant*." This generates contempt.

Gopal:—People are not much acquainted with Telugu idioms nowadays. Therefore in the open meeting I translated it at once as Prestige so that one might understand our clean methods.

P. P.:—"We get Swaraj in a month." This means that the British Government will be destroyed: and this produces hatred. "Earth withholds milk." Before this sentence a story was told by the accused. Once a king went to see a sugar-cane plantation when he witnessed that a large quantity of juice was being

extracted from sugar-canes. He became jealous of the owners' profits and from that time, sugar-canes on that plantation became juiceless. Another story also is told by the accused. "The other day, on our return from Nagpur, Pantulu Garu and I halted at Doulatabad. There are great temples there. The artistic skill of them is excellent. At such a place we found that there was no water to drink. How many must have been at work in constructing such big temples? How many years must they have worked? In such a place drinking water has to be bought at so many *Mānikas* a rupee. Has (the cow of) the Earth withheld her milk (sap) or not? Thinking that it is a great sin, even the earth has withheld her milk." When we consider these two stories one is left with the impression that because the Government is going in a wrong path, therefore there was no water in that place. "For they say that the efficacy of the arrow of Sri Ramachandra was known to the sea. We should not say it was known to Ravana (a *sloka* was read by the accused here in the meeting): for Ravanesura was a wicked being: what great effort is required to kill him? It does not matter if

the British Government exists, ceases to exist or meets with destruction." The accused compared the Government with Ravana and Hiranyakasyapa and this certainly produces hatred in the minds of the hearers.

Gopal:—I am sorry to note you have not clearly grasped the meaning and purport of those sentences. The sea is infinite and one of the visible kinsmen of God. The measure of Rama's prowess is to be judged not by his killing Ravana but by trying conclusions over the Infinite. You punish the criminal and your capacity cannot be judged by that but by your power over the Infinite. Yes. It does not matter if the British Government exists or not. That is to say we should kill Ravana in the British Government. There may be Rama in British Government too. As for comparing the Government to Ravana and other Rakshasas, I can have the necessary objectivity of mind and vision being emphasized for instance Ravana has *Paradârâpaharanam* while this Government has *Paravitthâpaharanam.* Hiranyakasyapa was punished not by his son Prahlada, but by God Himself. We must play the part of Prahlada because the Government are supposed to be "father" of the people. If the Govern-

ment choose the path of Hiranyakasyapa, God appears in *Nrisimhavatara*: but if they choose the path of Bali he is Vamana as he is now. In the latter case we will be allies and be happy. But in the former Nrisimha is violence and who knows that Prahlada may not be violent as in Nrisimha's Manifestation. He filled Himself in all Creation; and therefore cannot escape possessing Prahlada too the very incarnation of Humility.

Public Prosecutor afterwards again took portions of his speech one by one and began to point out how they tend to create hatred and contempt and disaffection.

Dt. Mg. (to the accused):—Do you want to say anything?

Gopal:—First of all I want to make my position clear. I certainty accept an English judge because I wish to enlighten you for the civilians have to help us in our Civil Disobedience programme. I ask you to resign and help us to attain Swaraj. The prosecution is very bad. I could prosecute myself more ably than the Public Prosecutor has done, for I am a dramatist. The basis of prosecution is one of misunderstanding and ignorance. Take for instance the currency notes question. I examined a hypothe-

tical statement. When Mahatma Gandhi said he would establish Swaraj in one month, I want the people to clearly grasp the full significance of the statement. I pointed out to them the uselessness of the currency paper for it is a popular question which I had to deal with. Hatred and contempt are abominable. We have contempt not towards the English nation, nor the English people, but to some who richly deserve it. I am sick of this refrain. The most important thing to the Government is money. Money is the soul, the life of all Governments. Now the British Government presented us money in notes. I was criticising the attitude of the Government's economics. War chests may be filled up with money and inconvertible notes may be used. That economics is very bad. The shorthand reporter did not understand it well. If you invest those notes with us we will honour them otherwise we won't. As for Rakshasa he is a man in whom a particular type of egoism is emphasized and I know that Rakshasas belong to the Brahmin class (laughter in the court). Brahmins are dead in my country. You (Dt. Mg.) are in a way a brahmin for Brahmins are always rulers. I use popular illustra-

tions for they are well understood by the masses.

Dt. Mg.:—Do you believe that the transcribed speech of the prosecution is not fair ?

(Here the accused pointed out certain words which indicate that they do not bear the interpretation put upon them by the prosecution).

Gopal :—There are four points. Very important omissions. This would result in an incorrect understanding of those sentiments which are bundled up so that the whole looks like an incoherent and intangible mass.

Dt. Mg.:—I like to say this. If you think that there is any incorrect thing the proper course is to cross-examine witnesses. You will be free to recall each of them to cross-examine after the charges are framed.

Gopal;—I do not want to cross-examine nor am I going to put in defence. I want you to clearly understand things as they are. If you permit, I will put in my preliminary statement in which I will explain the omissions and commissions of the prosecution. Please see that you allow my friends Mr. M. Krishna Rao, my philosopher, and Mr. G. V. Krishna Rao, my scribe, to be with me to prepare the statement and give it to you to-morrow.

Dt. Mg.:—Yes. I permit your friends to help you. I adjourn the case till to-morrow at 2 P.M.

Second day (11th November).

The accused has been handed a copy of the paragraphs of his speech complained against by the prosecution and was asked to give his preliminary statement thereon. The paragraphs were typed and numbered. The accused stated that he would take them up one by one and would comment thereon. Before that he proposed to read the preliminary statement he was asked to prepare the other day. The District Magistrate allowed and the accused read the following preliminary statement which made a profound impression on the 'court' especially the latter portion of it when he referred to the Chirala-Perala tragedy.

Preliminary statement.

"The speech as reported is an insult to justice, as the Court cannot correctly appreciate and appraise my intention, my mentality, and action with such an incoherent and intangible bundle of mutilated sentences. I sympathise with the shorthand reporter. I know he has done his

job splendidly well at Berhampore. Possibly the poor fellow was exhausted at the moment owing to a storm of emotion upsetting him at the movement as, after all, he is my kith and kin and his lancorous look, I prophesy, betrays an early resignation of his bad job, which compels him to damn himself in this manner before his own countrymen. The chief features of the report are :—

1. Omission of the nucleus; 2. Murder of sequence; 3. Mutilation of illustration; 4. Wrong reproduction of sound; 5. A false knowledge of allusion, during the mention of which possibly negligence of not taking it down at the time in full owing to a self-confidence.

And all these, who knows, may be due to a tip from above to cook it up to suit the fancy of the prosecution and what is more a serious lack of knowledge on the part of the Public Prosecutor regarding the idiom both in Telugu and English languages.

I am sorry to say that my amiable adversary, the Public Prosecutor does not get even a pass mark in this, his examination in the subject of literatures. Perhaps he studied well but is nervous in the hall for having to send a fellow-being of his own to jail for opinions which, I

detect, he himself in his heart of hearts cherishes and believes.

A misapprehension of the significance of my statement owing perhaps to want of good discipline in logic for hypothetical situations which I presented and examined in my speech as for example the question of currency notes is confounded to be the presentations of the actuals.

General lack of wider outlook and a penetrating vision on the part of the prosecution and the most important of all, the lack of æsthetic sensitivity to see in full length the suggestions and implications. But all these omissions and commissions are due to all the instruments of this trial being tools in the bureaucratic machine which is still "too wooden, too iron, too antedeluvian" to be eligible to rule or to be just.

I meant no hatred and contempt, nor my movement does, nor my audience felt, but these obtain in the morbid imagination of a mad and angry Government. My refrain is love and sacrifice. I wish well with the police and the prosecution and pray for the dawn of sense and sanity all round.

At this moment alas! even humility wants

to be immodest and impels me to say that the Government has to thank me for having been so considerate, so compassionate, so human and so homely in my references always to them and their law even in the face of such an extraordinary provocation I had from them as that with regard to Chirala and Perala tragedy. If Mahatmaji is responsible for the weal of three hundred millions of my countrymen I, as a humble follower of the Rishi, am at least responsible for the welfare of 15,000 souls for whom the sense of d—d prestige of this Government has created a miserable hell for the last 7 or 8 months and who knows how long. If you are an Irishman—I do not know who you are—Sir, you will know what Chirala means for me. It has been a continuous moral and mental exercise for a long twelve months, a wonderful discipline in social psychology and action and if I had borne or bear or am capable of bearing hatred and contempt towards you, you should have raised by now in that place a wild crop of dyers,an *edition-de-luxe* of the Punjab wrong."

Then the accused began to read the paragraphs handed over to him and commenced comment upon them. Here are the paragraphs objected to by the Prosecution :—

I

"Our country, a country with a population of 33 crores, a country that has been held in great honour by its superiority to all other countries in point of wealth and knowledge—such a great country white faces that have come from a distance of 8,000 miles rule and we sit with white (pale) faces. Gradually we have been reduced to this position. They are not of our caste or clan. They are not of our form nor of our country. Why should we do service to them cheerfully? Why have they come? Why should people go from one country to another? Firstly we go for want of food; we also go for thieving; or we go for the purpose of trade. Trade comes under one of the first two heads (above stated). Failing, thieving or trading, there is begging. Why have our people come? They have come for all the three. Begging has become the chief thing. Thieving is going on in our country. Making all of us unfortunate (destitute) (interruption by some one saying that the shorthand reporter is writing:—Lecturer replying "what fear still?") They have gradually come and have occupied the whole of our dominion (country). They thought that they would for ever remain here. They have

instilled fear and devotion (in us). For instilling fear they have disarmed (us). They have first instilled poison into our heads.

II

When, on return, I got down at the Alexandra Docks in Bombay and first beheld the people here, my impression was, as when I behold your oxen after having seen the oxen of *Palnatseema* (the region of Palnad, a taluk in the Guntur District, where a good breed of oxen is available). Why are they so? They have freedom. They have been committing some blunders. Can they come to the right without committing blunders? When I beheld them at Bombay I thought "There are 320 millions of us. Some Dyer must cut down 319 millions. The one million that remain may be regenerated." I thought "you are devoid of shame to remain in this condition when those that have come from a distance of 8,000 miles are ruling over you. Wherever we see there is fear, fear for everything. Why should they have fear, even now, at the mere mention of the name of the Collector? Perhaps they think that they live for ever. No; not at all. They say that even a King must have death. It is certain

that we die. It is not good to be treacherous We must have our eyes wide open (unintelligible). If need be, we must have the power to throw, at once, one hundred white men into the Swarga. If not, we are unfit for Swaraj.

III

Our difficulties are severe. We are not able to live. When Mr. Gandhi, the Rudramurty (the form of Siva) was in this country, some said that they would sacrifice their blood for the movement. They said that they would organise Raj in a month. What does a month mean ?

IV

But when the rulers are treading the path of Adharma only, and the ruled are treading the path of Adharma and are sinful, will not the (cow of the) earth withhold her milk ?

V

The other day, on our return from Nagpur, Pantulu Garu and I halted at Doulatabad. There are both Kailas (Siva's Abode) and

Vaikuntha (Vishnu's Abode) there. There are great temples there. The artistic skill of them is excellent. At such a place we found that there was no water to drink. How many must have been at work in constructing such big temples? How many years must they have worked? In such a place drinking water has to be bought at so many *Manikas* a rupee. Has (the cow of) the earth withheld her milk (sap) or not? Thinking that it is a great sin, even the earth has withheld her milk.

VI

He said that he would accomplish it by the arrow of mere word. We know the efficacy of the word. There is no need of our considering the matter of the British Government. For they say that the efficacy of the arrow of Sri Ramachandra was known to the sea. They said that we should not say that it was known to Ravana (sloka); for Ravanesura was a wicked being; what great (effort) is required to kill him? It does not matter, if the British Government exists, ceases to exist, or meets with destruction. The determination of the Mahatma (is): Whatever may happen we shall establish that *Saraswatamma* (goddess of learning) with her locks,

divided and ordered, lengthwise and crosswise (with *prakka-papata* and *Adda-papata*). Even as Ramadandu (Rama's army) rendered help for the recovery of Sita (Rama's wife) when she had been carried away, we must do. War may come. It will all depend upon the English. If they adopt Hiranyakasipu's ways the Mahatma will assume the incarnation of 'Nrisimha' (sloka from Prahlada). He has asked us to meditate upon *Srimannarayana* always. If this incarnation of 'Nrisimha' comes, these English will be the cause of it.

VII

We are representing to all who possess money. They carried away all the gold and silver which was with us and introduced papers. It is not enough that it merely bears the stamp of His Majesty George V. Declaring Moratorium, they withheld payment of money. What will become of all your papers, if Swaraj is established in our country under Mr. Gandhi? They will say to them who are now shampooing the legs of the Government, "Go you and shampoo legs."

VIII

So say out chiefly in this meeting, "we shall, without paying as much heed to this British Government as to a hair, let them know their bad practices and intend to destroy their wickedness."

IX

Venkatappayya Pantulu, who is solely a Desabhakta (a devotee to the country), is the Guru (Preceptor) to us all. What has he said He has said "The time of destruction has come and some decision must be arrived at."

Gopal:—I will take para by para and comment on them. The first para suffers, in fact all do, from all the infirmities mentioned in my preliminary statement. All the sentences mentioned in the first para must certainly have occurred somewhere in the course of my speech. But they have been unrecognisably scattered. For instance, take the sentences "Why have our people come? They have come for all the three. Begging has become the chief thing. Thieving is going on in our country." You certainly, credit me with some sense of sequence. Don't you?

Dt. Mg.:—Of course.

Gopal :—Well, thank you, then what do you think of these ? Is there not murder of sequence ? Now take the last sentence "They have first instilled poison." This should be as "They have next instilled poison in the shape of bad education to secure devotion." This poison brought about paralysis of the mind and engendered slave mentality. If the attention of the audience is drawn to this, it is not to instill hatred but to induce self-pity as every government does, it may be.

P. P. : We are not concerned with your intentions. It may be and perhaps is good. But the words as they are may create hatred.

Gopal. Yes. They may create hatred only in a prejudiced, morbid, self-seeking, moderate, non-Brahmin and government party audience whose delicate mental constitution is most easily disturbed by even a look at it. Certainly not the most unsophisticated audience I had.

In the second paragraph those sentences might have occurred somewhere in my speech. This para also suffers from the same ailments. My idea was my eye, being trained to see the finest breed of men and women in Europe during my long stay of five years over there, found my people, in its first impression of

them, awfully Lilliputian, dwarfish, stunted. No wonder, I felt, every European on landing, instinctively despises us as a race, as they are guided mostly in their opinions by their first physical impressions. This war of reconstruction of social polity must be, I mean, a sort of national purgative in which even 319 millions of Lilliputs may sacrifice themselves leaving behind just a million who can stand the trial to provide seed for the new generation. When I referred to shame I alluded to the astonishment everybody will have at the lack even of a sense of subjection in us. One of your greatest professors Sir John Seeley himself whose work, I fancy, is prescribed to you (I.C.S. men), Sir, said that the moment national consciousness merely sprouts in the Indian mind we must think that is the beginning of the end. Now let me take up the third para. Rudra is the Presiding Deity (*Adhisthanadevata*) of Economics, the third in the Hindu Trinity. Economics deal with wealth. Wealth invests all things with utilities and render them capable of being appropriated and consumed. Even mental capital is included. Consumption decrees death to all things, a change of name and form. When mankind find themselves in economic

mood as we are now it is destruction of all things that is ordained. It is *laya*. *Layakarta* is Rudra. That is why we find the world in the vortex of a big conflagration now. And the leaders of mankind now are all Rudras not of good but of evil. Such is the case with De Valera, Lenin, Gandhi, and Zaghul Pasha. This thesis can be understood only by a typical Indian audience unlettered though they may be in your opinion but perfectly capable of comprehending by virtue of the equipment of their mental and moral constitution.

The idea in the fourth para is that even the elements were discontented. They become so owing to an attitude of our mind. For example, you, Europeans, are out for the conquest of nature. You bear a belligerent attitude while we call this earth, *Bhudevi* (Mother). Take the case of Kistna Anicut. You spent so many millions of money. You cut her throat and got her blood for irrigation and proclaimed you have conquered her. But she conquers you now. She is getting silted up and very soon the course of the river itself may change needing another waste of a large number of millions of money. I was pleading for the restoration of our fundamental traditional attitude towards nature.

This (mentioned in the fifth para) was at Doulatabad in Nizam's territory, the Ellora Cave temples. It might apply to the Nizam's Government perhaps the Prosecution does not know it. Bad Geography again: though, of course, Nizam's territory is a subordinate clause to the British Government.

As for the sixth para, words are the *ayudhas* (weapons) for our Rishis. They are called *Sapayudhas*. *Sapa* is not a curse. It does not bring on evil but is calculated to do good to one on whom it is bestowed. Words uttered by a Rishi like Gandhi are concentrated moral and spiritual dynamite. The words 'Equality, Liberty or Fraternity' were responsible for the doom of many an Empire in Europe which is still groaning under their effect. Who knows Swaraj is not one such another to destroy another Empire of egoism?

The measure of prowess of Ramachandra is to be judged not by punishing Ravana, a master egoist who is easily vulnerable to ordinary virtue but his power over the Infinite as the sea, of all visible things in the world, is Infinite, the nearest kinsman of god. I compared this to the prowess of the British Empire that it should be judged not by its thorough enslavement of

300 millions and perhaps all the world by its diplomacy and silver bullet, but in the words of Macaulay, by its establishment of an Empire of morality over the world.

Ramadandu is suggested by your Scout Movement. They scouted out Sita's whereabouts. Unalloyed devotion, unfailing love towards all beings, constant readiness to spring to action at the call of Dharma, Love and Sacrifice are its primary features. It is a more comprehensive one and it is a correct Indian reply to the Western form of Boy Scout Movement.

The allusion to Hiranya Kasyapa is intended to strongly repudiate all our responsibility for any violence that might occur. Hiranyakasyapa, while praying to Brahma, obtained insurance and immunity against all conceivable poses and weapons of Vishnu but did not contemplate one particular contingency that of Man-Lion which Vishnu in relief adopted to deal with him. So Hiranyakasyapa himself is responsible to the hideous, terrible, Man-Lion shape which fell on him. If Prahlada is given the option of determining Vishnu's shape in his manifestation for destroying his father he would have perhaps prescribed an amiable, non-

violent, sweet-mannered morning suit. But he had no say in the matter. Even so we, like Prahlada, are not responsible for the appearance of violence if it were to come. If it comes, we like Prahlada, may not escape (Heaven forbid !) its infection as the Lord in his Manifestation filled all the Universe *(Sthavara jangáma)*. And Prahlada also at the moment did not escape being filled thus. But if the egoism of the Government takes the form of Bali as I fancy it is so now and helps in the realisation of all our wishes, the Avatar would be Vamana as it is now in the shape of Gandhi, the puny form. The prosecutor suggested that even in this case the third foot of Vamana is placed on the head of Bali and destroyed him. I am quite sorry for his knowledge of the mythology. It simply sent him to *Pâthâla*, the Antipodes and made him the monarch of everything there. Surely in this spherical globe your country represents the Antipodes of ours. The idea is we are asking you three feet measure of boon like Vamana. The first is righting the Punjab wrong, the second is Khilafat and the third is *Swaraj*, which sends you to confine your rule to your own country and be our allies to exchange hoasts of friendship on our *San-*

krânti day when Bali is worshipped in my country.

Dt. Mg.:—You mean, in short, you are not responsible for any violence.

Gopal:—Quite so: We and our movement.

The matter of the seventh para I have already explained. I am complaining against bad economics of this bad system of government. "Shampooing legs" is an idiom in our language and its grotesqueness is due to obscene translation. Strictly speaking it means sycophancy, fawning.

In the eighth para also there is bad idiom in translation. 'Hair' must be replaced by the word 'straw.'

In the last para bad idiom again. Not 'solely' but 'genuine' Desabhakta. Utterances in inspired moments are prophetical. He said '*Vinâsakâlam*' ('the time of destruction') It means transformation into a better one. It is not destruction for nothing is destroyed 'when a candle is burnt.'

I have nothing to say further except to ask you to send to jail as many of my countrymen as you can and thus accelerate the establishment of Swaraj in my country.

Afterwards the District Magistrate framed

the charge that his speech comes under 124A Indian Penal Code. and should be tried in this court (by himself).

Gopal :—Did my speech create disaffection in you?

Dt. Mg. :—No. But it might have created disaffection in your unlettered audience. Do you plead guilty?

Gopal :—Morally I have not been guilty of any offence towards anybody in this connection. I do not put in any defence. We are enjoined by our Congress creed not to recognise this as a Court of Law.

Dt. Mg. :—Do you wish to cross-examine any of the prosecution witnesses?

Gopal :—No. I do not want to be *cross* with them at all.

P. P. :—Not *cross* but do you *cross-examine*?

Gopal :—When you are only *cross* you want to *cross-examine*.

P. P. (addressing Dt. Mg.) :—The accused's main contention is that there was omission of some parts of his speech but he did not definitely state them. Therefore that ground is perfectly useless. He is not positive in his comments to-day and hence it is equally of no use.

It is not a question of drawing up one's imagination but the primary question is what does it convey to an ordinary mind? His intention may be different but natural effects went the other way. The very fact that he said that the Government poisons us will certainly create hatred. Human nature being what it is, I do not think his audience is full of philosophers to appreciate the philosophical notes of his speech. He has done a positive disservice to the Government. Sending a man to Swarga means literally to kill him. He incited the people to kill Englishmen in those words. He said even elements boycott those who live under the Adharma rule of a king, thus creating the impression in the mind of the simple folk that the rule of the British Government is unjust. The accused says that Daulatabad is in the Nizam's territory and if it at all offends, it should offend the Nizam's Government. But I submit that people do not know geography and where the place is. They think it is in the British dominions and this helps to create hatred and disaffection.

Therefore on these grounds I submit the accused has offended the Law and should be dealt with according to the Law.

Dt. Mg.:—(to the accused)—Do you wish to say anything?

Gopal:—If you permit, I will put in my final statement to-morrow in which I will expound to you the philosophy, and the principles of our movement in support of my speech.

Dt. Mg.:—Yes. I permit you to file your statement. I adjourn the case till to-morrow at 2 P.M.

Third Day (12th November).

D. M.:—Will you read your final statement?

Gopal:—Yes (and he began to read the following final statement).

FINAL STATEMENT

This is the first State Prosecution in my Andhradesa and I congratulate myself as being the first friend of 124-A. Indian Penal Code. This is my final statement. This is primarily addressed to you as an English gentleman and through you to all my countrymen. I am sorry I cannot, technically speaking, recognise this as a Court of Law. Nevertheless, British gentlemen have, humanly speaking, a right to be acquainted with the actual situation of my country and I am convinced that most of them, honest and conscientious among them I

mean, are sincerely anxious to throw in their lot with the struggles for freedom wherever they obtain. Therefore I consider myself as having a delightful talk with a kindly British gentle man in his own parlour.

INDIAN NATIONALISM

India's emancipation is of a far more profound consequence to the welfare of the world than perhaps of other countries, except I seriously apprehend Ireland with its Celtic blood and culture, as our political idealism is far more comprehensive than that professed elsewhere. The fundamental conceptions of our political philosophy and practice, if they are to be steered clear through the storm of unpatented ideas that is raging about the Indian mentality at the present moment, guided by correct dynamic appreciation of our tradition, of our historical consciousness, "Sanchita Karma," the abiding moral pose of our fundamental "Swabhava," need at the present juncture of our national destiny a clear and perhaps a very brief and almost aphoristic enunciation so that our present rulers, our intellectual Eurasians and in fact the whole world which is groaning for

freedom can understand and bear witness before the Maker of All Things to the righteousness of our cause and also probably to our competence to lead political thought and action in the world.

It is our peculiar fate and fortune that the new system of moral and mental philosophy that is to guide the world in the "Nava Yuga." (The new age)—the Post-Industrial Age—is to arise out of the present momentous conflict in our country; as this conflict, it is important to emphasise, is not to be understood as aiming at merely wresting power from the hands of the British, but as one where in all conceivable ideas of principle and conduct are fighting for supremacy in the governance of the Universe. We must recognise that India now represents a "Triveni Sangamam,"—a confluence of the three mighty streams that have so far nourished the life on this planet,' namely Hinduism (which includes of course Buddhism), Mohamadanism and Christianity—in the sacred waters of which the future humanity must bathe itself off all their past sins and emerge out with the new robes of righteousness, love and sacrifice into the "Krithayuga" that awaits them with Immortal Bliss.

The European struggle and all the horrid agony and divine discontent prevailing in the world of to-day is but the frontier of the conflict, or rather to be more correct, the union of cultures that is going on in my country. The range of Indian consciousness is not merely national in the European sense of the term, not merely human either, but comprehends the entire universe which includes not only humanity, but animality, vegetality and minerality; and according to our tradition 13 other worlds yet unconceived by the modern intellect. If we adopt the European national spirit at the present moment in our moral action, it is only to be understood as the intensive—and not the extensive—method of enabling the fruits of our action to benefit the entire universe. The new phenomenon that has now arisen in European moral practice, namely, the League of Nations (It must be stated here that it is so far political, of course, and does not extend to the entire moral sphere, but I think if it at all lives it is potential of the widest import) appears to be the extensive form of the method. And this is, as it should be, as Indian individuality is characterised fundamentally by subjective and spiritual pursuit while that of the European is

objective and material. And this is amply and significantly illustrated in our non-co-operation movement.

NON-CO-OPERATION

If the Punjab wrong, the Khilafat treachery, and if my indulgence is pardoned, the Chirala-Perala tragedy and the almost incurable, interminable foreign tyranny announce themselves to our mind as the causes of our movement, they must be recognised as the "Nimitta" (Topical, Ostensible) and not the "Upadana" (The Primal, Real) causes for starting us on this national "Yoga Sadhana" under the guidance of Gandhi 'Maharishi' to achieve "Swarâjya," the final liberation. Non-co-operation is but the purificatory stage of the Yoga, the 'Yama' stage which is defined to consist explicitly of 'Ahimsa.' 'Astheya,' 'Brahmacharya,' 'Aparigraha,' etc. Curiously and significantly enough that in these days of Europeanisation of Indian mentality, such a scrupulous adherance to our traditional methods of sadhana issuing forth from Gandhi Maharishi's instinct and injunction show that at last India has begun to discover her soul. The abiding *Dharmabeeja* (The

Seed of Righteousness) is sprouting forth. Non-co-operation, with due deference to our Poet-Laureate, is not " a congregated menace of negation shouts and denial of love and life " and so forth, but constitutes an Anubhava and Sathwicabhava which leads up to the fundamental aethos Rasa, the Beautiful (one of the three theoretic forms of Reality) which leads up to the fundamental sentiments of the aesthetic organisation of the Universe or the World process, viz., Sringara (Love). Non-co-operation embodies the abiding sentiments of " Khandithanayika " (the woman who snubs her Lord) one of the eight heroines mentioned in Indian dramaturgy. Perhaps " Raudra " (The furious), ' Bhibhathsa " (The detestable) and " Bhayanaka " (The terrible) " Rasas " await to be disclosed in God's wardrobe in the present drama of Universal reconstruction. This non-co-operation in the case of these three Rasas may also constitute a " Vyabhichari-Bhava " which nourishes them. A non-acquaintance with the traditional Hindu Aesthetics alone should have instilled the doubt that non-co-operation may be an un-Indian method of furthering the Cause of Life. Gandhi Maharishi, our Guru, to be " Purushottama " must be capable of

"Navarasaspoorthi" (must comprehend the nine varieties of Rasa) as Sree Ramachandra was. The Nine, the Prime Numbers, the only number of fundamental sentiments which produce, not in their totality, but in their severality, God in his fulness must find their fullest consummation in the eventual evolution of my Guru's character, and in our utter self-surrender to our Guru we believe in it.

LAW AND SWADHARMA

This, in brief, is my faith which colours all my utterances. The presentation of my ideal and method, therefore, need illustration from our mythology, tradition and history and not a mere despicable performance of the modern, economic, bourgeoisie, diletante, philistine mood and its positive method as typified by the demagogue of Trafalgar Square. *It is not calculated to instil malignant patriotism nor provoke vulgar hatred of God's sons nor even blatant contempt for egoistic follies of soulless bureaucracies.* My utterances aim at rejuvenating the atrophied centres of human compassion and pity for agony and misery, that requires constant adjustment

and alleviation, and kindle faith and hope in the darkness of desperation and despondency. *The police that espy, the Magistrate that adjudicates, the law that pants for vindication, are all alike, let me assure you, Sir, woefully ignorant and culpably untutored to comprehend, much less sympathize with, the form and movement of my thought and action.* And this explains the unnatural and grotesque positions that placed the rulers and the ruled in their relations to each other. Law, I hold, cannot be the resultant of a conflict of interests and compromise of ideals, is not based on consensus, does not embody the power and pleasure of the Crown (as in our view the Crown merely executes God's Will nothing more nothing less); but is *Swayambhu* (Self-Creating) the fundamental substratum of the world process as revealed through the supermen and their actions. Law is not what the modern Parliamentarian, makes with his narrow bourgeois interests and party shibboleths but is the utterance of the Rishi when he is the perfected instrument of the dynamic pose of the national soul. I recognise your law in so far as it is in tune with our national swadharma. If you think I have offended your law it is not to

defy it in a spirit of scorn or contempt, but to provoke it to purge itself of its erratic form and evil import, and attune it to that of our own. *If you can strip yourself of your official austerity and self-insinuation as the defender of law, and for the moment become the man and the Irishman that you are, and view it from a high pedestal, you will see the truth of it and realise that this accusation of offence is a mockery of God's Law.* This offence, if you still hold it so is, capable of emancipating not only my country but also yours, and, let the Britisher understand, his country too. I hold the method I have adopted in gaining our Swaraj, viz., non-co-operation is and cannot be, even in the hands of the most wicked votaries of it, violent, as conceived to be a method of gaining political Independence. Every War, in my view, can afford to be non-violent. *India exists and shall exist as a racial unit in this universe, only to render war non-violent and to teach erring humanity the true method of moral and social self-adjustment.* India punishes herself for the redemption of the world.

THE INDIAN METHOD

Our moral ideal, our "Pravurthika Dharma" does not consist of our own emancipation, and even at that, political emancipation alone, as life is a complex phenomenon in which all the apparently autonomous aspects, social, political, economical, moral and aesthetic are interlaced and intertwined together in such a manner that action in one aspect will have momentous incidence in all the others; but directs itself towards the achievements of the emancipation of all existence from its phenomenal bondage, the realisation of every "Swarupa" (form and name) in strict consonance with its "Swabhava" (individuality' of the "Swadharma" (its abiding Functions). In this view this righteous war is essentially one species of educational process that enables everybody and everything to reach God with the employment of the only true method (the True Indian Method) of appreciating the infinte variety of mental, moral and emotional constitution of all beings so that every one grows to one's fullest spiritual stature, everyone becoming a genius ("Siddha") with the achievement of fullest originality and the complete realisation of one's own individuality. That is why,

Sir, we are enjoined to throw in our lot with all struggles for freedom in this world, irrespective of time and clime, be it in Ireland, or in Egypt or in Russia or in England. "Sarva Bhuta Hitam" (The well-being of all existence) is our ideal. Wherever it is trampled into the dust we must get ready to sacrifice ourselves. And in so doing we do not bargain with that bereaved nation or community for a territorial grant or an economic concession for a baptism into our fold as a condition precedent to our allying ourselves with them. Thus you can see that we can make the cause of our Moslem Brethren as our own only when they remain truly Muslim, fighting for their Islam Dharma. The Hindu-Muslim Unity, judged from the Hindu standpoint, cannot be achieved and becomes a mere camouflage if Hindus and Muslims think of stripping themselves of their Hindu-ity and Muhammadan-ity to reduce themselves into a uniforme clectic hotch-potch, at the bidding of the so-called rationalistic training which results not in a real unity but a grotesque political pageantry. It is not the common political suffering that is to weld together the Hindu and the Muslim, like the Greeks of old during the Persian invasions, but the mutual respect,

regard, and love for each other's Dharma and the necessity of its individuated preservation that can and shall achieve it. *Swaraj, therefore, means the preservation of Hindu Dharma, Muslim Dharma, Christian Dharma, Parsi Dharma, Sikh Dharma, in short the Swadharma of all, and a co-ordinated federation of all, which are now being threatened with destruction by a positive Godless Philosophy, industrial anarchy, and spiritual famine that beset the world at the present moment.* We shall achieve it by "Nishkama Karma," action without a longing for the fruit, and then, Sir, tell me where do hatred and contempt come in the performance of such an action?

My amiable adversary, the Public Prosecutor, has laboured long to manufacture hatred and contempt and disaffection out of my speech towards the existing Government, but alas! he miserably failed to do so, but, however, succeeded in showing up those (hatred, contempt, and disaffection) in the attitude of the Government towards my country. You know that I admitted the paragraphs and sentences to have occurred in the course of my speech, though ailing from a lot of infirmities; and I accosted

you as to whether you yourself were disaffected over them. And when you replied that possibly you are not and perhaps my audience, generally unlettered as they are, in your opinion might have become so, I replied that if they (my audience) being acquainted with the language of my speech, my method of argument, my mythological allusions, my vital touches, my idiom, my gesture, might be disaffected, you who are quite alien to all these, sitting in judgment over these notwithstanding, and however sympathetic, should have been more so. I also said the general uneducatedness which you impute to my audience is born of false apprehension. As you remember I remarked that some of what we, Indians, learn from our mother's lap is imparted to an European youth in the post-graduate course, and I cited the idea of 'Karma' (in the European philosophical slang, the idea of 'metempsychosis') is a part and parcel of our volition, even from our childhood and this is engendered in our germ plasm by centuries of emotional and moral training in our previous births. It is futile perhaps to argue that we meant no disaffection hatred or contempt as you cannot perhaps comprehend our view of life that even a full-fledged

sublime revolt against God as practised by Ravana, Hiranyakasyapa and other Rakshasas is merely "Satrusadhana" (the Controversial, the Oppositional, the Belligerent method) in contrast with "Mitrasadhana" (the Expositary, the Devotional, and the Self-surrendering methods,) leading up to final liberation (*Moksha*) as they all got to. I have argued out everything of those paras complained against, in my preliminary statement and I need say nothing further.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, let me imitate the Indian School Boy, nervous and trembling in the examination hall, addressing in his answer book an appeal to the humanity of the examiner, ignoring his questions to be answered, that he should be passed off to give him a lease of life and say that you, Sir, shall immediately inform your Government that they expedite the establishment of Swarajya by sending thousands and thousands of my countrymen into the Training Colleges of patriotism and self-fulfilment, your jails. Delay is dangerous. My Lord Sree Rama Chandra has sanctioned the prosecution of three hundred millions of my countrymen, in

the Civil Disobedience resolution at Hastinapura (Delhi), the cremation ground of many an Empire of egoism, the outskirts of Kurukshetra, and His Inspector-General, the Lord of Ramadandu, Mahatma Gandhi awaits to execute it. My incessant prayer is that thus shall it be.

"Swasthi Sree Ramarpana Masthu."

Dt. Mg. :—The judgment will be delivered on Monday, the 14th instant.

Fourth Day (14th November).

The District Magistrate delivered his judgment at 12 noon.

He delivered an admirable judgment in which he admitted that there was much force in the complaint of the accused, viz., mutilation of illustration and the murder of context. Anyhow as the speech offends 124A Indian Penal Code, technically therefore 'I sentence him to 9 months simple imprisonment running concurrently with the old one.'

Gopal recited the following *Swasthi*—

[May monarchs govern the people of this world in the true righteous path and all bliss to them: May the cow and the Brahmin be blessed with peace and plenty ever and ever. May happiness reign over the entire world.]

This is our national anthem. It is known to

every orthodox Hindu throughout the length and breadth of this land. The words cow and Brahmin mean the nourishers of our body and soul. Brahmana gives milk of knowledge and love. It is the generic Brahmin and not the modern variety which is a mockery. It means the educators of theworld.

Ramdas Duggirala Gopalakrishna's message to his countrymen—

To my countrymen,

The Civil Revolution began.

Gita Ch. 2.

[If thou should'st not engage thyself in this holy war, thou shalt perish with thy fame and svadharma (individuality as a nation) and live ever in sin].

Of this I remind you all, my brethren. Hope you can draw upon from the Lord's assurance.

["But they who, cleansed of 'other'—ness,
Where'er they turn, See ME hail ME,
At-One for aye in ME are they :
I'gain for them, I hold for them."]

Yoga is the securing of our further aspirations and *Kshema* means the preservation of that already secured. These are the Lord's concern. Let us jump in with a 'Nishkama Dhruthi' with the determination devoid of

longing after any fruit. We may, and perhaps will, perish in the conflict but our children and the generations to come shall enjoy the fruit. Let there be no violence even in the hour of the utmost temptation. That would be puerile egoism, self-destruction and un-Indian in the extreme.

And even in the hour of victory be generous and chivalrous.

[If you catch your enemy who deserves death, see that you do not kill him, but do good to him and send him away.]

Gandhi Maharishi is born to lead us to *Swarâjya* and thence to *Swarâjya*. He is our Superman, our *Jivanmukta*, the Transparent Instrument of God's Will. Mistake him not. March on to Victory under his guidance. Non-violent non-co-operation surely the un-initiate misunderstand.

[That which is thought of as darkness by all beings is light to the Rishi and *vice versa*.]

So be not deceived. Have faith in him and glory and Victory shall be ours.

The Punjab wrong, Khilafat treachery, and Chirala-Perala tragedy are but the *Avarohanas,* The descending ones, in the even song of *Swaraj* whose *Ároharas*, the ascending ones,

are the establishment of Swaraj in India and also in England, which awaits you in your oncoming struggle. I am destined to deny myself the sharing of your pangs in suffering and sacrifice : but may yet share your joy when it is settled and becomes the *Rasa* of universal love. I embrace you all and exit to my cell.

Swasthi Sri Ramarpana Masthu.

(Camp) Sub-Jail,
Masulipatam
14th November
1921.

Yours in love,
DUGGIRALA
GOPALAKRISHNAYYA.

Another message was also delivered by him to his Chirala-Perala brethren to carry out their fight to the end and according to the decision of Gandhiji and the Andhra leaders. These messages were handed over to me early morning on 14th November, at 12 o'clock the judgment was delivered, and by 2 o'clock train he was sent to the Trichinopoly Jail. Thus ended one of the farcical trials in a British Court of Law !

11

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